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VOL. IX.

The Slave Oligarchy and its Usurpations-Outrages in Kansas-The different Political Parties-Position of the Republican Party.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER. On the Evening of Nov. 2, 1855,

IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF BOSTON:

you are to answer at the coming election. Above all other questions, whether national or local, it now lifts itself, directly in the path of every voter, and "to promote the general welfare," which repudiates every Oligarchy—and "to it has a mood for every hour-stirring us at times as with the blast of a of an Abolitionist: "He never would concur in upholding domestic Slavery trumper—then visiting us in solemn tones, like the bell which calls to prayer— It was a nefarious institution. It was the curse of Heaven." In another and then again awaking us to our unmistakable duty like the same bell, which | mood, and with mild juridical phrase, Mr. Madison, himself a slaveholder, at midnight summons all to stay the raging conflagration.

And yet there are persons among us who seek to put this great question aside. Some clamor for financial reform, and hold up a tax-bill; others clamor for a modification of the elective franchise, and they hold up the Pope; some speak in the name of old parties, calling themselves Democrats or Whigs; others in the name of a new party, which shall be nameless at present. Surely the people of Massachusetts will not be diverted from the true issue-involving Freedom for broad territories and Freedom for themselves-by holding up a tax-bill or by holding up the Pope. The people of Massachusetts are intelligent and humane. They are not bulls, to be turned aside by shaking in their eyes a bit of red cloth; nor are they whales, to be stopped by a tub. The pertinacious and exclusive advocacy with which, at this crisis of Freedom, humbler matters and even personal aspirations have been pressed, in disregard of a sacred cause, finds a prototype in an effort of selfishness, which, occurring at the very crisis of our Revolution, was chastised by the humor and eloquence of Patrick Henry. The story is familiar. Our small army, contending for Freedom, was reduced to the depths of distress-exposed almost naked to the rigors of a winter sky, and marking the frozen ground with the blood of shoeless feet. "Where is the man," said Patrick Henry, "who would not have thrown open his fields, his barns, his cellars, the doors of his house, the portals of his breast, to receive the meanest soldier in that little famished band? Where is the man? There he stands; but whether the heart of an American beats in his bosom, you are to judge!" It was to John Hook that he pointed, who was then pressing a vexatious claim for supplies taken for the use of these starving troops. "What notes of discord do I hear?" exclaimed the orator. "They are the notes of John Hook, hoarsely brawling through the patriot camp—Beef! Reef! Beef!" And now, among us, the selfishness of John Hook is renewed, and politicians disturb the hour, as they hoarsely brawl their petty claims through our patriot camp. But above all these is heard the great question, which will not be postponed, are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? "Under which king, Bezonian, speak or die!" Are you for Freedom, with its priceless blessings, or are you for Slavery, with its countless wrongs and woes? Are you for God, or are you for the Devil?

Fellow-Citizens, I speak plainly; nor can words exhibiting the enormity of Slavery be too plain, whether it be regarded simply in the legislative and judicial decisions by which it is upheld, or in the unquestionable facts by which its character is revealed. It has been my fortune latterly to see Slavery face to face in its own home, in the slave States; and I take this early opportunity to offer my testimony to the open barbarism which it sanctions. I have seen a human being knocked off at auction on the steps of a court-house, and, as the sale went on, compelled to open his mouth and show his teeth, like a horse; I have been detained in a stage-coach, that our driver might, in the phrase of the country, "help lick a nigger;" and I have been constrained, at a public table, to witness the revolting spectacle of a poor slave, yet a child, almost felled to the floor by a blow on the head from a clenched fist. Such incidents were not calculated to shake my original convictions. The distant slaveholder, who, in generous solicitude for that truth which makes for Freedom, feared that, like a certain Doctor of Divinity, I might, under the influwhile I was entirely satisfied that here in Massachusetts, where all read, the true character of Slavery is better known than in the slave States themselves where ignorance and prejudice close the avenues of knowledge.

And now, grateful for the attention with which you honor me, I venture to hope that you are assembled honestly to hear the truth; not to gratify prejudice, to appease personal antipathies, or to indulge a morbid appetite for excitement; but with candor and your best discrimination to weigh facts and arguments, in order to determine the course of duty. I address myself particularly to the friends of Freedom-the Republicans-on whose invitation I appear to-night; but I make bold to ask you of other parties, who now listen, to divest yourselves for the time of partisan constraint-to forget for the moment that you are Whigs or Democrats, or how you are called, and to zemember only that you are men, with hearts to feel, with heads to understand and with consciences to guide. Then only will you be in a condition to receive the truth. "If men are not aware of the probable bias of party over them, then they are so much the more likely to be blindly governed by it." This is the wise remark of Wilberforce; and I fear that among us there are too many who are unconsciously governed by such bias. There are men, who, while professing candor, yet show that the bitterness of party has entered into their whole character and lives—as the bitterness of the soil in Sardinia is said to

At this election we do not choose a President of the United States, or member of Congress, but a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and local than national; it seems to belong to State affairs rather than Federalto Massachusetts rather than to the Union. And yet such are our relations to knit together as a Plural Unit—that the great question which now disturbs and overshadows the whole country, becomes at once national and local, addressing itself alike to the whole Republic and to each constituent part. Freedom in Kansas, and our own Freedom here at home, are both assailed, They must be defended. There are honorable responsibilities belonging to cannot renounce." "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" The distant emigrant—the whole country—awaits absorbing, is this question at the present juncture, that it is vain to speak of the position of candidates or other things. To be doubtful on this is to be wrong; and to be wrong on this is to be wholly wrong. Passing strange it is, that here in Massachusetts, in this nineteenth century, we should be constrained to put this question. Passing strange, that when it is put, there should be any hesitation to answer it, by voice and vote, in such way as to speak the

A plain recital will show the urgency for this question. At the period of the Declaration of Independence, upwards of half a million colored persons were held as chattels in the United States. These unhappy people were originally stolen from Africa, or were the children of those who had been stolen, and, though distributed throughout the whole country, were to be found chiefly in the Southern States. The Slavery to which they were reduced was simply a continuation of the violence by which they had been originally robbed of their rights, and was of course as indefensible. The fathers of the Republic, leaders of the war of Independence, were struck with the inconsistency of an appeal for their own liberties, while holding in bondage fellowmen, only "guilty of a skin not colored like their own." The same conviction animated the hearts of the people, whether at the North or the South. Out of ample illustrations, I select one which specially reveals this conviction, and possesses a local interest in this community. It is a deed of manumission, made after our struggles had begun, and preserved in the Probate records of the County of Suffolk. Here it is:

"Know all men by these presents, that I, Jonathan Jackson, of Newburyport, in the county of Essex, gentleman, in consideration of the impropriety I feel, and have long felt, in beholding any person in constant bondage, more especially at a time when my country is so warmly antending for the liberty every man ought to enjoy, and having some time since promised my negro man, Pown, that I would give him his freedom, and in further consideration of five initings, paid me by said Powr, I do hereby liberate, manumit, and set him free; and I do tereby remise and release unto said Powr, all demands of whatever nature I have against aid Powr.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this nineteenth June, 1776.

"JONATHAN JACKSON. [Seal.]

Such was the general spirit. Public opinion found free vent in every channel. By the literature of the time, by the voice of the Church, and by the solemn judgment of the College, Slavery was condemned, while all the grandest names of our history were arrayed openly against it. Of these, I might dwell on many; but I am always pleased to mention an illustrious triumvirate, ington, who at one time declared that "it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery might be abolished by law," and then at another, that, to this end, "his suffrage should not be wanting." There also was Jefferson, who, by early and precocious efforts for "total emancipation," placed himself foremost among the Abolitionists of the land-perpetually denouncing Slavery-exposing the pernicious influences upon the master as well as the slave-declaring that the love of justice and the love of country pleaded equally for the slave, and that "the abolition of domestic Slavery was min Franklin, who did not hesitate to liken the American master of black slaves to the Algerine corsair with his white slaves, and who, as President of the earliest Abolition Society-the same of which Passmore Williamson is now Secretary-by solemn petition, called upon Congress "to step to the very

sons of our fellow-men." Thus completely, by this triumvirate of Freedom, was Slavery condemned, and the power of the Government invoked against it.

By such men and in such spirit was the National Constitution framed. The emphatic words of the Declaration of Independence, which our country took upon its lips as baptismal vows, when it claimed a place among the nations of the earth, were not forgotten. The preamble to the Constitution renews them, when it declares the object of the people of the United States to be, among other things, "to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity." Thus, according to undeniable words, the Constitution was ordained, not to establish, secure, or sanction, Slavery-not to promote the special interest of slave-masters, bound Are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? This is the question which | together in oligarchical combination—not to make Slavery national in any way, form, or manner, but to "establish justice," which condemns Slaverycalls for a plain and honest reply. There it is. It cannot be avoided. It can secure the blessings of Liberty," in whose presence human bondage must not be banished away. It cannot be silenced. Forever sounding in our ears, | cease. Early in the Convention, Gouverneur Morris broke forth in the language "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in man." The discreditable words, Slave and Slavery, were not allowed to find a place in the instrument, where it clause was subsequently added by way of amendment, and therefore, according to the rules of interpretation, particularly revealing the sentiments of the founders, which is calculated, like the Declaration of Independence, if practically applied, to carry Freedom everywhere within the sphere of its influence. It was specifically declared that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law "-that is, without due presentment, indictment, or other formal judicial proceedings. Here is an express guard of personal Liberty, and a prohibition of Slavery everywhere within the national jurisdiction.

In this spirit was the National Constitution adopted. In this spirit the National Government was first organized under Washington. And here there is a fact of peculiar significance, well worthy of perpetual memory. At the time this great chief took his first oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the National Ensign nowhere within the National Territory covered a single slave. On the sea, an execrable piracy, the trade in slaves, was still, to the national scandal, tolerated beneath the national flag. In the States, as a sectional institution, beneath the shelter of local laws, Slavery, unhappily, found a home. But in the only Territories at this time belonging to the Nation-the broad region of the Northwest-it had already, by the Ordinance of Freedom, been made impossible, even before the adoption of the Constitution. The District of Columbia, with its Fated Dowry, had not yet been

The original policy of the Republic, begun under the Confederation, and recognised at the initiation of the new Government, is clear and unmistakable. Compendiously expressed, it was non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States, and its prohibition in all the national domain. Thus we reconciled all discordant feelings on this subject. Slave-masters were left at home in their respective States, without any intervention from Congress, to hug Slavery until it stung them to contrition, while the great mass opposed to this wrong were properly exempted from any responsibility for it in the national

Most true it is-beyond all question-that our Constitution was framed by the lovers of Human Rights; that it was animated by their divine spirit; that the institution of Slavery was regarded by them with aversion, so that, though covertly alluded to, it was not named in the instrument; that, according to the debates in the Convention, they refused to give it any "sanction," or "to admit into the Constitution the idea of property in man," while they looked forward to the certain day when it would be obliterated from the land. Surely, Fellow-Citizens, they did not contemplate any oligarchical combination, constituting a mighty Propaganda, such as we now witness, to uphold and extend it; nor can any person put his finger on any clause, phrase, or word, which sanctions any such Propaganda; and, in making this assertion, I challenge criticism and reply.

But the original policy of the Government did not long prevail. The generous sentiments, which filled the early patriots, giving to them historic grandeur, and which stamped upon the Republic, as upon the coin which it circulaed, the very image and superscription of LIBERTY, gradually lost their power The blessings of Freedom being already secured to themselves, the freemen of the land became indifferent to the freedom of others. They ceased to think of the slaves. The slave-masters availed themselves of this indiffer though few in number, compared with the non-slave-masters, even in the slave States, they have, under the influence of an imagined self-interest, by the skillful tactics of party, and especially by an unhesitating, persevering union among themselves-swaying by turns both the great political partiessucceeded, through a long succession of years, in obtaining the mastery of the National Government, bending it to their purposes—compelling it to do their will, and imposing upon it a policy offensive to Freedom, and directly opposed to the sentiments of its founders; while on the forehead of the Republic, once beaming with Liberty, they have stamped the image and superscription of

The actual number of slaveholders in the country was for a long time unknown, and on this account was naturally exaggerated. It was often represented to be very great. On one occasion, a distinguished Representative from Massachusetts, whose name will ever be cherished for his devotion to Human Rights, the Hon. Horace Mann, was rudely interrupted on the floor of Congress by a member from Alabama, who averred that the number of slaveholders was as many as three millions. At that time there was no official document by which this assumption could be corrected. But at last we have The late census, taken in 1850, shows that the whole number of this pecu-

liar class-embracing men, women, and children, all told, who are so unfor tunate as to hold slaves—was only 347,000; and, of this number, the larger part are small slaveholders, leaving only 92,000 persons as the owners of the yet this small company—sometimes called the Slave Power, or Black Power, better called the Slave Oligarchy—now dominates over the Republic, deternines its national policy, disposes of its offices, and sways all to its absolute will. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, it is an Oligarchy, odious beyond precedent; heart-less, grasping, tyrannical; careless of humanity, right, or the Constitution; vanting that foundation of justice which is the essential base of every civilized community; stuck together only by confederacy in spoliation; and constituting in itself a magnum latrocinium; while it degrades the free States to the condition of a slave plantation, under the lash of a vulgar, despised, and revolting

There is nothing in the National Government which the Slave Oligarchy oes not appropriate. It entered into and possessed both the old political parties. Whig and Democratic—as witness their servile resolutions at Baltimoremaking them one in subserviency, though double in form; and renewing i them the mystery of the Siamese twins, which, though separate in body and different in name, were constrained by an unnatural ligament to a communit of exertion. It now holds the keys of every office, from that of President down to the humblest postmaster, compelling all to do its bidding. It organizes the Cabinet. It directs the Army and Navy. It manages every department of public business. It presides over the census. It controls the Smithsonian Institution, founded by the generous charity of a foreigner, to promote the interests of knowledge. It subsidizes the national press, alike in the national capital and in the remotest village of the North. of the President of the Senate, and also in the chair of the Speaker of the House. It arranges the Committees of both bodies, placing at their head only the servitors of Slavery, and excluding therefrom the friends of Freedom though entitled to such places by their character and the States they represent; and thus it controls the legislation of the country.

In maintaining its power, the Slave Oligarchy has applied a test for office, very different from that of Jefferson—"Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" These things are all forgotten now, in the single question, "Is he faithful to Slavery?" With arrogant ostracism, it excludes from every national office all who cannot respond to this test. So complete and irrational has this tyrant become, that at this moment, while I speak, could Washington, or Jefferson, or Franklin, once more descend from their spheres above, to mingle in our affairs and bless us with their wisdom, not one of them, with his recorded unretracted opinions on Slavery, could receive a nomination for the Presidency from either of the political parties calling themselves national; nor, stranger still, could either of these sainted patriots, whose names alone open a perpetual fountain of gratitude in all your hearts, be confirmed by the Senate of the United States for any political function whatever—not even for the office of postmaster. What I now say, amidst your natural astonishment, I have often said before in addressing the people and more than once uttered from my seat in the Senate; and no man there has made answer, for no man who has sat in its secret sessions, and there learned the test which is practically applied, could make answer; and I ask you to accept this statement as my testimony, derived from the experience of four years, which has been my lot under the commission which I have received from our honored Commonwealth. from our honored Commonwealth. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, had this test prevailed in the earlier days, Washington—first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen—could not have been created generalissimo of the American forces; Jefferson could not have taken his place on the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence; and Franklin could not have gone forth to France, with the commission of the infant Republic, to secure the

invaluable alliance of that ancient Kingdom.

All tyranny, like murder, is foul at the best; but this is most foul, strange, and unnatural, when it is considered that the States, which are the home of the Slave Oligarchy, are far inferior to the free States, in population, wealth cation, schools, churches, libraries, manufactures, and resources of al kinds. By the last census, there was in the free States a solid population of freemen amounting to upwards of 13,000,000, while in the slave States there was a like population of only 6,000,000. In other respects, important to civilization, the disparity was as great. And yet, from the beginning, they have taken to themselves the lion's share among the honors and trusts of the Repub-But, without exposing the game of political "sweepstakes," which the Slave Oligarchy has perpetually played—interesting as it would beto hold up for one moment the aggressions and usurpations by which, in defiance of the Constitution, it has made Slavery national, when it is in reality sectional. Here is a brief catalogue:

Early in this century, when the District of Columbia was finally eccupied as the national capital, the Slave Oligarchy succeeded, in defiance of the spirit of the Constitution, and even of the express letter of one of its amendments, in securing for Slavery, within the District, the countenance of the National Government. Until then, Slavery had existed nowhere within the exclusive jurisdiction of this Government.

National Government in the broad Territory of Louisiana, purchased from The Slave Oligarchy next placed Slavery again under the sanction of the verge of the power vested in it to discourage every species of traffic in the per- National Government, in the Territory of Florida, purchased from Spain.

The Slave Oligarchy, waxing powerful, was able, after a severe struggle, to dictate terms to the National Government in the Missouri Compromise, compelling it to receive that State into the Union with a slaveholding Consti-

The Slave Oligarchy instigated and carried on a most extensive war in Florida, mainly to recover fugitive sleves—thus degrading the army of the United States to be Slave-Hunters. The Slave Oligarchy wrested from Mexico the Province of Texas, and, trimphing over all opposition, finally secured its admission into the Union, with

a Constitution making Slavery perpetual.

The Slave Oligarchy plunged the country in war with Mexico, in order to gain new lands for Slavery. The Slave Oligarchy, with the meanness as well as the insolence of tyranny, has compelled the National Government to abstain from acknowledging the

neighbor Republic of Hayti, where slaves have become freemen, and established a Independent nation.

The Slave Oligarchy has compelled the National Government to stoop ignobly before the British Queen, to secure compensation for slaves, who, in the exercise of the natural rights of man, had asserted and achieved their freedom

on the Atlantic Ocean, and afterwards sought shelter in Bermuda.

The Slave Oligarchy has compelled the National Government to seek to negotiate treaties for the surrender of fugitive slaves—thus making our Repubic assert abroad, in foreign lands, properly in human flesh.

The Slave Oligarchy has joined in declaring the foreign slave trade piracy,

out insists on the coastwise slave trade, under the auspicies of the National Government The Slave Oligarchy for several years rejected the petitions to Congress adverse to Slavery—thus, in order to shield this wrong, practically denying the

The Slave Oligarchy, in defiance of the privileges secured under the Constitution of the United States, imprisons the free-colored citizens of Massachusetts, and sometimes sells them into bondage. The Slave Oligarchy insulted and exiled from Charleston and New Orleans

the honored representatives of Massachusetts, who were sent to those places, with the commission of the Commonwealth, in order to throw the shield of the Constitution over her colored citizens. The Slave Oligarchy has, by the pen of Mr. Calhoun, as Secretary of State,

formal despatches, made the Republic stand before the nations of the earth as the vindicator of Slavery. Slave Oligarchy has put forth the hideous effrontery, that Slavery can go to all newly-acquired territories, and enjoy the protection of the national

The Slave Oligarchy has imposed upon the country an act of Congress, for the recovery of fugitive slaves, revolting in its requirements, and many times unconstitutional—especially on two grounds: first, as a usurpation by Congress of powers not granted by the Constitution, and an infraction of rights secured to the States; and, secondly, as a denial of Trial by Jury, in a question of Personal Liberty, and a suit at common law.

Such, Fellow-Citizens, are some of the aggressions and usurpations of the Slave Oligarchy! By such steps, the National Government has been perverted from its original purposes, its character changed, and its powers all surrendered to Slavery. Surely, no patriot soul can listen to this recital, without confessing that our first political duty is, at all hazards and without compromise, to oppose this Oligarchy, to dislodge it from the National Government, and to bring the administration back to that character which it enjoyed when first organized under Washington, himself an Abolitionist, and surrounded by Abolitionists, while the whole country, by its Church, its Colleges, its Literature, and all its best voices, was united against Slavery, and the national flag nowhere within the national territory covered a single slave.

Fellow-Citizens, I have said enough to stir you; but this humiliating tale is not yet finished. An Oligarchy seeking to maintain an outrage like Slavery, and drawing its inspiration from this fountain of wickedness, is naturally base, false, and heedless of justice. It is vain to expect that men, who have screwed themselves to become the propagancists of this enormity, will be restrained by any compromise, compact, bargain, or plighted faith. As the less is contained in the greater, so there is no vileness of dishonesty, no denial of human rights, that is not plainly involved in the support of an institution, which begins by changing man created in the image of God into a chattel, and sweeps little children away to the auction-block. A power which Heaven never gave, can be maintained only by means which Heaven can never sanction. And this conclusion of reason is confirmed by late experience; and here I approach the special question under which the country now shakes from side to side. The protracted struggle of 1820, known as the Missouri Question, ended with the admission of Missouri as a slaveholding State, and the prohibition of Slavery in all the remaining territory, west of the Mississippi and north of 36° 30'. Here was a solemn act of legislation, called at the time a compromise, a covenant, a compact, first brought forward by the Slave Oligarchy, vindicated by it in debate, finally sanctioned by its votes, also upheld at the time by a slaveholding President, James Monroe, and his Cabinet—of whom a majority were slaveholders, including Mr. Calhoun, himself—and made the condition of the admission of Missouri, without which that State could not have been received into the Union. Suddenly, during the last year-without any notice in the press or the prayer of a single petitionan acquiescence of thirty-three years, and the irreclaimable possession by the Slave Oligarchy of its special share in the provisions of this Compi iolation of every obligation of honor, compact, and good neighborhood—and in contemptuous disregard of the out-gushing sentiments of an aroused North, this time-honored Prohibition, in itself a Landmark of Freedom, was overturned, and the vast region, now known as Kansus and Nebracka, was solvery; and this was done under the disgraceful lead of Northern p and with the undisguised complicity of a Northern President, forgetful of Freedom, forgetful also of his reiterated pledges, that during his administration the repose of the country should receive no shock.

And all this was perpetrated under pretences of popular rights. Freedom was betrayed by a kiss. In defiance of an uninterrupted prescription down to our day—early sustained at the South as well as the North—leaning at once on Jefferson and Washington—sanctioned by all the authoritative names of our history, and beginning with the great Ordinance by which Slavery was prohibited in the Northwest—it was pretended that the people of the United States, who are the proprietors of the national domain, and who, according to the Constitution, may "make all needful rules and regulations" for its government, nevertheless were not its sovereigns—that they had no power to interdict Slavery there; but that this eminent dominion resided in the few settlers, called squatters, whom chance or a desire to better their fortunes first hurried into these places. To this precarious handful, sprinkled over nmense spaces, it was left, without any constraint from Congress, to decide whether into these vast unsettled lands, as into the veins of an infant, should be poured the festering poison of Slavery, destined, as time advances, to show itself in cancers and leprous disease, or whether they should be filled with all the glowing life of Freedom. And this great power, transferred from Congress to these few settlers, was hailed by the new-fangled name of Squatter

It was fit that the original outrage, perpetrated under such pretences, should be followed by other outrages, perpetrated in defiance of these pretences. In the race of emigration, the Freedom-loving freemen of the North promised to obtain the ascendency, and, in the exercise of the conceded sovereignty of the settlers, to prohibit Slavery. The Slave Oligarchy was aroused to other Of course, it stuck at nothing. On the day of election, when this vaunted popular sovereignty was first invoked, hirelings from Missouri, having no home in the Territory, entered it in bands of fifties and hundreds, and, ssuming an electoral franchise to which they had no claim, trampled under foot the Constitution and laws. Violently, ruthlessly, the polls were possessed by these invaders. The same Northern President, who did not shrink from unblushing complicity in the original outrage, now assumed another complicity. Though prompt to lavish the Treasury, the Army and the Navy of the Republic, in hunting a single slave through the streets of Boston, he could see the Constitution and laws which he was sworn to protect, and those popular rights which he had affected to promote, all struck down in Kansas, and then give new scope to these invaders by the removal of the faithful Governor-who had become obnoxious to the Slave Oligarchy because he would not become their tool-and the substitution of another, who vindicated he dishonest choice by making haste, on his first arrival there, to embrace the partisans of Slavery. The Legislature, which was constituted by the overthrow of the electoral franchise, proceeded to overthrow every safeguard of Freedom. At one swoop, it adopted all the legislation of Missouri, including its Slave Code; by another act it imposed unprecedented conditions upon the exercise of the electoral franchise, and by still another act it denounced the punishment of death no less than five times against as many different forms of interference with the alleged property in human flesh, while all who only write or speak against Slavery are adjudged to be felons. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, should any person there presume to print or circulate the speech in which I now express my abhorrence of Slavery, and deny its constitutional existence anywhere within the national jurisdiction, he would become liable under this ct as a felon. And this overthrow of all popular rights is done in the name of Popular Sovereignty. Surely its authors follow well the example of the earliest Squatter Sovereign-none other than Satan-who, stealing into Eden, discovered, by the celestial angels, just beginning his work; as

Would you know the secret of this unprecedented endeavor, beginning with the repeal of the Prohibition of Slavery, down to the latest atrocity? answer is at hand. It is not merely to provide new markets for slaves, or even to guard Slavery in Missouri, but to build another slave State, and thus, by the presence of two additional slaveholding Senators, to give increased preponderance of the Slave Oligarchy in the National Government. As men are murdered for the sake of their money, so is this Territory blasted in peace and prosperity, in order to wrest its political influence to the side of Slavery. But a single usurpation is not enough to employ the rapacious energies of our Oligarchy. At this moment, while the country is pained by the heartless

conspiracy against Freedom in Kansas, we are startled by another effort, which contemplates, not merely the political subjugation of the National Government, but the actual introduction of Slavery into the free States. The vaunt has been made, that slaves will yet be counted in the sacred shadow of the monument on Bunker Hill, and more than one step has been taken towards this effrontery. A person of Virginia has asserted his right to hold slaves in New York on the way to Texas; and this claim is still pending before the highest judicial tribunal of the land. A similar claim has been asserted in Pennsylvania, and thus far been sustained by the Court. A blameless citizen, who, in obedience to his generous impulses, and in harmony with the received law, merely gave notice to a person held as a slave in a free State, that she was in reality free, has been thrust into jail, and now, after the lapse of months, still languishes there, the victim of this pretension; while—that no excess might be wanting in the madness of this tyranny—the great writ of Habeas Corpus, proudly known as the writ of deliverance, has been made the instrument of his imprisonment. Outrage treads upon outrage, and great rights pass away to perish. Alas! the needful tool for such work is too easily found in places high and low—in the alleys and cellars of Boston—on the bench of the Judge—in the chair of the President. But it is the power behind which I arraign. The Slave Oligarchy does it; the Slave Oligarchy does it all. To the prostration of this Oligarchy you are bound by a three-fold cord of duty: first, as you would secure Freedom for yourselves; secondly, as you

would uphold Freedom in distant Kansas; and, thirdly, as you would preserve the Union in its early strength and integrity. The people of Kansas are many of them from Massachusetts—bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh; but, as fellow-citizens under the Constitution, they are bound to us by ties which we cannot disown. Nay, more: by the subtle cord which connects this embryo settlement with the Republic, they are made a part of us. The outrage which touches them, touches us. What galls them, galls us. The fetter which binds the slave in Kansas, binds every citizen in Massachusetts. Thus are we prompted to their rescue, not only to save them, but also to save ourselves. The Slave Oligarchy next secured for Slavery another recognition under the tyranny which now treads them down, has already trampled on us, and only awaits an opportunity to do it again. In its complete overthrow is the only way of safety. Indeed, this must be done before anything else can be done.

In vain you seek economy in the Government, improvement of rivers and harbors, or dignity and peace in our foreign relations, while this Power holds the

national purse and the national sword. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the door will be wide open for all generous reforms. Oh! the imagination loses itself in the vain endeavor to picture the good that will be then accomplished. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and Liberty will become the universal law of all the national Territories; Slavery will cease at once in the national capital; the slave trade will no longer skulk along our coasts, beneath the national flag; and the wickedness of the Fugitive Slave Bill will be driven from the statute book. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the National Government will be at length divorced from Slavery, and the national policy will be absured from Slavery. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the be changed from Slavery to Freedom. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will no longer be the vassal of the South. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will be admitted to its just share in the trusts and honors of the Republic. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and you will possess the master-key with which to unlock the whole house of bondage. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the gates of emancipation will be open at the South.

To this work, Fellow-Citizens, you are now summoned. By your votes you are to declare, not merely your predilection for men, but your devotion to principles. Men are erring and mortal. Principles are steadfast and immortal. Forgetting all other things-especially forgetting men-you are to cast your votes so as best to promote Freedom.

But in the choice of men we are driven to the organization of parties; and here occurs the practical question on which hinges our immediate duty, By what political party can our desire be accomplished? There are individuals in all the parties, even the Democratic, who hate Slavery, and say so; but a

political party cannot be judged by the private opinions of come of its mon-we select, to bear the burden and honor of our great controversy, must be adapted to the work. It must be a perfect machine. Wedded to Freedom for better or for worse, and cleaving to it with a grasp never to be unloosed, it must be clear, open, and unequivocal, in its declarations, and must admit no other question to divert its energies. It must be all in Freedom, and like Cæsar's wife, it must be above suspicion. But besides this character which it must sustain in Massachusetts, it must be prepared to take its place in close phalanx with the united masses of the North, now organizing through all the free States, junetaque umbone phalanges, for the protection of Freedom, and the overthrow of the Slave Oligarchy.

Bearing these conditions in mind, there are three parties which we may dismiss, one by one, as they pass in review. Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles; nor do they expect patriotism from Benedict Arnold. A party which sustains the tyrannies and perfidies of the Slave Oligarchy, and is represented by the President through whom has come so much all our woe, need not occupy our time; and such is the Democratic party. If there be within the sound of my voice a single person, who, professing sympathy with Freedom, still votes with this party, to him I would say: The name of Democrat is a tower of strength; let it not be a bulwark of Slavery; for the sake of a name, do not sacrifice a thing; for the sake of a party, do not

According to a familiar rule, handed down from distant antiquity, we are to say nothing but good of the dead. How, then, shall I speak of the late powerful Whig party—by whose giant contests the whole country was once but which has now ceased to exist, except as the shadow of a name? Here in Massachusetts, a few, who do not yet know that it is dead, have met together and proffered their old allegiance. They are the Rip Van Winkles of our politics. This respectable character, falling asleep in the mountains, drowsed undisturbed throughout the whole war of the Revolution, and then returning to his native village, ignorant of all that had passed, proposed to drink the health of King George. But our Whigs are less tolerant and urbane than this awakened Dutchman. In petulant and irrational assumptions they are like the unfortunate judge, who, being aroused from his slumbers on the bench by a sudden crash of thunder, exclaimed, "Mr. Crier, stop the noise in Court." The thunder would not be hushed; nor will the voice of Freedom, now reverberating throughout the land. Some there are among these who openly espouse the part of Slavery, while others, by their indifference, place themselves in the same unhappy company. If their position at this moment were of sufficient importance to justify grave remark, they should be exhibited as kindred in spirit and isolation to the Tories of our Revolution or at least as the Bourbons of Massachusetts-always claiming everything learning nothing, forgetting nothing, and at last condemned by an aroused people for their disloyalty to Freedom.

That no person who truly loves Freedom may join this company, tempted by its name, its music, and its banners, I now read the language of welcome d sympathy, addressed to them by a distant journal, the St. Louis Republican, a paper which has sustained the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, and the worst outrages which have followed. The article is entitled, "A Bugle Note rom the Right Quarter;" and after saying that "the Whig Spirit is up in Massachusetts," proceeds to say:

"When we see Stevenson and Hillard and Walley, and hosts of such men, consulting together for the public good; and Winthrop and Choate and Washburn, and others, deliberately putting upon record their approval of the movement, and their condemnation of a geographical party, we cannot doubt the regeneration of Massachusetts."

After this commendation of our Whig brethren, the same paper proceeds in its next article to express its sympathy with what it calls "the Pro-Slavery men of Kansas.

There is still another party, which claims your votes, but permit me to say, at this crisis, with small pretence. I am at a loss to determine the name by which it may be properly called. It is sometimes known as the Know Nothing party; sometimes as the American party; but it cannot be entitled to thes lesignations—if they be of any value—for it does not claim to belong to the organization which first assumed and still retains them. It is an isolated combination, peculiar to Massachusetts, which, while professing certain political sentiments, is bound together by the support of one of the candidates for Governor. At this moment, this is its controlling idea. It is therefore a personal party, and I trust that I shall not be considered as departing from that courtesy which is with me a law, if I say that, in the absence of any appropriate name, expressive of principles, it may properly take its designation from the candidate it supports. It is not a party of Whigs, Democrats, Hunkers or, Soilers; but it is a party of Gardnerites.

Of course, such a party wants the first essential condition of the organization which we seek. It is a personal party, whose controlling idea is a predilection for a man, and not a principle. Whatever may be the private sentiments of some of its members, clearly it is not a party wedded to Freedom for bette and for worse, and cleaving to it with a grasp never to be unloosed. While professing opposition to Slavery, it also arraigns Catholics and foreigners, and llows the question of their privileges to disturb its energies. It is not all in Freedom; nor is it, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. Besides, even as a party of Freedom, it is powerless from its isolation; for it stands by itself, and in no way associated with that great phalanx now rallying throughout the North. In this condition, should it continue to exist, it will, in the coming Presidential contest, from natural affinity lapse back into the American party of the country, which is ranged on the side of Slavery. Of course, as a separate party, it is necessarily short-lived. Cut off from the main body, it ay still show a brief vitality, as the head of a turtle still bites for some days after it is severed from the neck; but it can have no permanent existence. Surely this is not the party of Freedom which we seek.

But the incompetency of this party, as the organ of our cause, is enhanced by the uncongenial secrecy in which it had its origin, and yet shrouds itself. For myself, let me say, that on the floor of the Senate I have striven, by vote and speech, in conjunction with my distinguished friend, Mr. Chass, for the limitation of the secret sessions of that body, under shelter of which so much of the business of the nation is transacted; and I have there presented, as a fit model for American institutions, the example of that ancient Roman, who hade his architect so to construct his house, that his guests and all that they did might be seen by the world. What I have urged there I now urge But the special aims which this party proposes seem to be in harmony with the darkness in which it begins. Even if justifiable on any grounds of public policy, they should not be associated with our cause; but I am unwill-

ing to allude to them without expressing my frank dissent.

It is proposed to attaint men for their religion, and also for their birth. If this object can prevail, vain are the triumphs of Civil Freedom in its many hard-fought fields; vain is that religious toleration which we all profess. The fires of Smithfield, the tortures of the Inquisition, the proscriptions of nonconformists, may all be revived. It was mainly to escape these outrages, dictated by a dominant religious sect, that our country was early settled, in one place by Quakers, who set at naught all forms; in another by Puritans, one place by Quakers, who set at haught all forms; in another by Furnans, who disowned bishops; in another by Episcopalians, who take their name from bishops; and in yet another by Catholies, who look to the Pope as their Spiritual Father. Slowly among the struggling sects was evolved the great idea of the Equality of all men before the law, without regard to religious belief; nor can any party now organize a proscription merely for religious belief, without calling in question this unquestionable principle.

But Catholics are mostly foreigners, and, on this account, are condemned Let us see if there he any reason in this; and here indulge me with one word

Romans he was an enemy. In early modern times, the austerity of this judgment was relaxed; but, under the influence of feudalism, the different sovereignties, whether provinces or nations, were kept in a condition of isolation, from which they have been gradually passing, until now, when the provinces are merged into nations, and nations are giving signs that they too will yet commingle into one. In our country, another example is already displayed From all nations, people commingle here. As in ancient Corinth, by the accidental fusion of all metals, accumulated in the sacred temples, a peculiar metal was produced, better than any individual metal, even silver or gold so perhaps, in the arrangements of Providence, by the fusion of all races here there may be a better race than any individual race, even Saxon or Celt. Originally settled from England, the Republic has been strengthened and enriched by generous contributions of population from Scotland, Ireland Switzerland, Sweden, France, and Germany; and the cry is still they come. At no time since the discovery of the New World, has the army of emigrants pressed so strongly in this direction. Nearly half a million are annually landed on our shores. The manner in which they shall be received is one of the problems of our national policy.

All will admit that any influence which they may bring, hostile to our institutions—calculated to substitute priestraft for religion, and bigotry for Christianity—must be deprecated and opposed. All will admit, too that there must be some assurance of their purpose to become not merely consumers of the fruits of our soil, but useful, loyal, and permanent members of our community, upholders of the general welfare. With this simple explanation, I am not disposed to place any check upon the welcome to foreigners. There are our broad lands, stretching towards the setting sun; let them come and take them. Ourselves, the children of the Pilgrims of a former generation, let us not turn from the Pilgrims of the present. Let the home, founded by our emigrant fathers, continue open in its many mansions to the emigrants

The history of our country, in its humblest as well as its most exalted spheres, testifies to the merits of foreigners. Their strong arms have helped furrow our broad territory with canals, and stretch in every direction the iron They have filled our workshops, navigated our ships, and even tilled fields. Go where you will, among the hardy sons of toil on land or sea, and there you will find industrious and faithful foreigners bending their muscles to the work. At the bar and in the high places of commerce you will find Enter the retreats of learning, and there you will find them too, shedding upon our country the glory of science. Nor can any reflection be cast upon foreigners, claiming hospitality now, which will not glance at once upon the distinguished living and the illustrious dead—upon the Irish Montgomery, who perished for us at the gates of Quebec—upon Pulaski the Pole, who died for us at Savannah—upon De Kalb and Stepben, the generous Germans, who aided our weakness by their military everytones, also support forms. aided our weakness by their military experience—also upon those great European liberators, Kosciusko of Poland, and Lafayette of France, each of whom paid his early vows to Liberty in our cause. Nor should this list be confined to military characters, so long as we gratefully cherish the name of Alexander Hamilton, who was born in the West Indies, and the name of Albert Gallatin, who was born in Switzerland, and never, to the close of his octogenarian career, lost the French accept of his boyhood—both of whom rendered civic

It was Christopher Columbus, of Genoar who disclosed to Spain the New World; it was Magellan, of Portugal, sailing in the service of Spain, who first pressed with adventurous keel through those distant southern straits which now bear his name, and open the way to the vast Pacific sea; and it was Cabot the Venitian, who first conducted English enterprise to this North American continent. As in the triumphs of discovery, so also in other fields have foreigners excelled. The Dutch Grotius, author of the sublime work, "The Laws of Peace and War," an exile from his own country, became the Ambassador of Sweden; and in our own day, the Emperor of Russia has employed in the most exalted diplomatic trusts the Italian Pozzo di Borgo. In the list of monarchs on the throne of England, not one has been more truly English than the Dutch William. In Holland, no ruler has equalled in renown the German William, Prince of Orange. In Russia, the German Catharine II takes a place among the most commanding sovereigns. And who of the Swedish monarchs was a better Swede than Bernadotte the Frenchman; and what Frenchman was ever filled with aspirations for France more than the Italian Napoleon

But I pass from these things, which have occupied me too long. A party which, beginning in secrecy, interferes with religious belief, and founds a dis-crimination on the accident of birth, is not the party for us.

. It was the sentiment of that great apostle of Freedom, Benjamin Franklin, uttered during the trials of the Revolution, that, "Where Liberty is, there is my country." In similar strain, I would say, "Where Liberty is, there is my arty." Such an organization is now happily constituted here in Massachu-atts, and in all the free States, under the name of the Republican party, in harmony with the under the property of the Covernments, to a movement which stirs the whole country, and does not find an adequate and constant organ in either of the other existing parties. The early opposition to Slavery was simply a sentiment, out-gushing from the hearts of the sensitive and humane. In the lapse of time, it became a fixed principle, inspiring large numbers, and showing itself first in an organized endeavor to resist the annexation of slaveholding Texas; next, to prohibit Slavery in newly acquired territories; and now, alarmed by the overthrow of all rights in Kansas, and the domination of the Slave Oligarchy throughout the Republic, it is aroused to a stronger effort and a wider union, inspiring yet larger numbers and firmer

resolves—even as the fountain, first out-gushing from the weeping sides of its

pure mountain home, trickles into the rill, and flows into the river, till at last,

wollen with accumulated waters, traversing states, washing the feet of cities proudly bearing a nation's commerce, it presses onward, forever onward, in Parties are the natural expression of a strong public sentiment, which seeks vent. As old controversies subside, the parties by which they have been conducted must yield to others, which represent the actual life of the times. In obedience to this law, political parties in France and England—the only countries where these are known—have undergone mutations with time. In France, under the royalty of Louis Philippe, the small band of Republicans, feeble at first in numbers, and represented in the Legislature by a few persons only but strong in principles and purpose, rallied together, and at length prevailed over the old parties, until all were equally subverted by Louis Napoleon, and their place supplied by the enforced unity of despotism. In England, the most brilliant popular triumph of her history—the repeal of the monopoly of the

corn laws—was finally carried by means of a newly-formed but wide-spread political organization, which combined men of all the old parties, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, and put forward the single idea of opposition to the corn laws, as its end and aim. In the spirit of these examples, the friends of Freedom, in well-compacted ranks, now unite to uphold their cherished principles, and by combined efforts, according to the course of parties, to urge them upon the Government and the country.

Our party has its origin in the exigencies of the hour. Vowing ourselves against Slavery wherever it exists, whether enforced by the Russian knowt,

the Turkish bastinado, or the lash of the Carolina planter, we do not seek to interfere with it at Petersburgh, Constantinople, or Charleston; nor does any such grave duty rest upon us. Our political duties are properly limited by our political responsibilities; and we are in no just sense responsible for the local law or usage by which human bondage in these places is upheld. But wherever we are responsible for the wrong, there our duty begins The object to which, as a party, we are pledged, is all contained in the acceptance of the issue which the Slave Oligarchy tenders. To its repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and its imperious demand that Kansas shall be surrendered to Slavery, we reply, that Freedom shall be made the universal law of all the national domain, without compromise, and that hereafter no slave State shall be admitted into the Union. To its tyrannical assumption of supremacy in the National Government, we reply, that the Slave Oligarchy shall be overthrown. Such is the practical purpose of the Republican party. It is to uphold and advance this cause, that we have come together, leaving the parties to which we have been respectively attached. Now, in the course of human events, it becomes our duty to dissolve the political bands which bound us to the old organizations, and to assume a separate existence. Declaration of Independence has been made. Let us, in the spirit of our Fathers, pledge ourselves to sustain it with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. In thus associating and harmonizing from opposite quarters, in order to promote a common cause, we have learned to forget former differ ences, and to appreciate the motives of each other. We have learned how trivial are the matters on which we may disagree, compared with the Great Issue on which we all agree. Old prejudices have vanished. Even the rancors of political antagonism have been changed and dissolved, as in a potent alembic, by the natural, irresistible affinities of Freedom. In our union, we have ceased to wear the badges of either of the old organizations. We have come a new party, distinct, independent, permanent, under a new name, with

just self-defence. And yet it is assailed from opposite quarters and by vari-It is even objected, that our movement is actually injurious to the very cause we seek to promote; and this paradoxical accusation, which might naturally show itself among the rank weeds of the South, is cherished here on our free soil, by those who anxiously look for any fig-leaf with which to cover their ndifference or tergiversation. This peculiar form of complaint is an old device which has been instinctively employed on other occasions, until it has ceased to be even plausible. Thus, throughout all time, has every good cause been encountered. Even Wilberforce, when pressing the abolition of the slave trade, was told that those efforts by which his name is now consecrated forevermore, tended to retard the cause he sought to promote, even to the extent of

may dismiss the objection to the contempt it deserves.

Liberty as our watchword, and our flag inscribed, "By this sign conquer."

Our object is reasonable, consistent with the Constitution, and required by

With more pertinacity it is objected, that ours is a sectional party, and the with more pertinactly it is edjected, that ours is a sectional party; and significant words of Washington are quoted, to warn the country against "geographical" questions. This is a mere hugbear, with which to disturb timid nerves. It is a part of the intolerable usurpation of the Slave Oligarchy, that the sectional institution of Slavery is exalted to be national in its character, so that a National Whig is simply a Slavery Whig, and a National Democrat is simply a Slavery Democrat. According to the true interpretation of the Constitution, Freedom and not Slavery is national, while Slavery and not Freedom is sectional. Now, if the Republican party proposed any measures calculated to operate exclusively upon any "geographical" section, or perhaps it might be obnoxious to this charge; but as it simply acts against Slavery under the National jurisdiction, and seeks to disiodge the Slave Oligarchy from their usurped control of the National Government, it is absurd to say that it is sectional. Our aim is in no respect sectional, but in every respect national. It is in no respect against the South, but against the Evil Spirit at the South, which has perverted our national politics. As well might it be said, that Washington and Jefferson and Franklin were sectional against the South. To all who are really against sectionalism, I would say, What sectionalism so direful as that of Slavery? To all who profess to be against isms, I would say, What ism so wretched as the ism of Slavery? If you are in earnest, join the national party of Freedom.

Again: it is objected that the Republican party is against the Union, and we are reminded of the priceless blessings which come from this fountain. Here is another bugbear. With us, the Union is not the object of mere lip-service; but it is cherished in simple sincerity—as the aged Lear was leved by his only faithful daughter, "according to her bond; nor more nor less." Our party does nothing against the Union, but everything for it. It strives to guard those great principles which the Union was established to secure, and thus to keep it ever worthy of our leve. It seeks to overthrow that baleful Oligarchy, under which the Union has been changed from a vessel of honor to a vessel of dishanor. In this patriot work it will persevere, regardless of menace from any quarter. Not that I love the Union less, but Freedom more, do I now, in pleading this great cause, insist that Freedom, at all hazards, shall be preserved. God forbid, that, for the sake of the Union, we should sacrifice the sacred things for which the Union was made.

And yet, again, it is objected that ours is a party of a single idea. This is a phrase, and nothing more. The party may not recognise certain measures of public policy, deemed by some of special importance; but it does what is better, and what other parties fail to do. It acknowledges these beneficent principles, which, like the great central light, vivify all, and without which all is dark and sterile. The moving cause and the animating soul of our party is the idea of Freedom. But this idea is manifold in character and influ ence. It is the idea of the Declaration of Independence. It is the great idea of the founders of the Republic. It is the idea which combined our fathers on the heights of Bunker Hill; which carried Washington through a seven years war; which inspired Lafayette; which touched with coals of fire the lips of Adams, Otis, and Patrick Henry. Ours is an idea which is at least noble and elevating; it is an idea which draws in its train virtue, goodness, and all the charities of life-all that makes earth a home of improvement and happiness-

Her path, where'er the goddess roves, Glory pursues, and generous shame, The unconquerable mind and Freedom's holy flame.

Thus do all objections disappear, even as the mists of morning before the sun rejoicing like a strong man to run his race. The Republican party stands vindicated in every particular. It only remains that I should press the question with which I began-" Are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery?" As it is right to be taught by the enemy, let us derive instruction from the Oligarchy we oppose. The 347,000 slave-masters are always united. Hence their strength. Like arrows in a quiver, they cannot be broken. The friends of Freedom have thus far been divided. They, too, must be united. In the orisis before us, it becomes you all to forget ancient feuds, and those names which have been the signal of strift. Those is no occasion to representer any which have been the signal of strife. There is no occasion to remember anything but our duties. When the fire-bell rings at midnight, we do not ask if it be Whigs or Democrats, Protestants or Catholics, natives or foreigners, who join our efforts to extinguish the flames; nor do we ask any such question in selecting our leader, then. Men of all parties, Whigs and Democrats, or however named, let me call upon you to come forward, and join in a common cause. Do not hesitate: When Freedom is in danger, all who are not for her are against her. The penalty of indifference, in such a cause, is akin to among the saddest on the banks of Acheron—rending the air with outcries of torment, shricks of anger, and smiting of hands—he finds the troop of dreary souls who had been cyphers only in the great conflicts of life:

Mingled with whom, of their disgrace the proof, Are the vile angels, who did not rebel, Nor kept their faith to God, but stood aloof.

Come forth, then, from the old organizations; let us range together. Come forth, all who have stood aloof from parties. Here is an opportunity for action. You who place principles above men, come forward! All who feel n any way the wrong of Slavery, take your stand! Join us, ye lovers of Truth, of Justice, of Humanity! And let me call especially upon the young. You are the natural guardians of Liberty. In your firm resolves and generous souls she will find her surest protection. The young man who is not willing to serve in her cause—to suffer, if need be, for her—gives little promise of those qualities which secure an honorable age.

Fellow-Citizens, we found now a new party. Its corner-stone is Freedom.

H. P. WHITNEY is our authorized canvassing agent for New York city and vicinity, and will receive and forward advertisements for the Era at our lowest rates. Advertisements can be left at his office, No. 22 Sprud

WASHINGTON. D. C. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1855.

BILLS! BILLS! Look out for your bills. They may drop out of your papers unperceived.

ENCOURAGING

Our friends are doing nobly, Many who left us last year, come back this. If every friend of the paper continues to work, the reaction will be successful. Now is the time. Send in the clubs, so that new subscribers may begin with the session.

Congress met last Monday, at twelve o'clock The Administration members of the House concentrated on Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, as their candidate for the Speakership, and gave him 74 votes, out of 225, the whole number cast. The Opposition, as every one foresaw, is divided, and there must be many ballotings before it can be sufficiently harmonized to elect

A majority of the House was returned on the simple Anti-Nebraska issue—but there are members of this majority who propose, in the election of Speaker to advance other issues in der. This is the source of all the difficulty in organizing the House. Were it not for the in tervention of this element, an Anti-Slavery Speaker could be chosen without difficulty. The telegraphists and letter-writers are sending out all sorts of rumors and speculations-but the People may as well understand at once, that should the ballotings be protracted for a month longer, it will be owing solely to the cause we have just pointed out.

Meantime, let the Opposition keep cool, and proceed calmly, and without hurry, allowing time for members to become acquainted with each other, and for prejudices to wear away.

TROUBLES IN KANSAS.

Reports of the beginning of civil war in Kan sas reach us by the telegraph. They seem to have been conveyed first to the Missouri Legislature, where the election for Senator is pending, and then to have been forwarded to Washington. As might have been expected, the blame is laid on the Free State men. The Slavery Propagandists, we all know, are a meek. long-forbearing tribe! It is said that Gov. Shannon has applied for help, and that the President has put the military at his disposal. We are inclined to think the rumors are exaggerated, for sinister purposes.

We respectfully commend to the notice of subscribers, and our friends of the Press, the Prospectus of the Notional Era for 1856. Subscriptions should be renewed without delay.

> PROSPECTUS OF THE

Tenth Volume of Ahe Rational Era,

Washington, D. C. G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR:

JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR. The signs of the times indicate an approaching crisis in the conflict between Freedom and Question before the People is, the Slavery

House constitute its Committees, initiate and derive new interest from the proceedings in be a period of surpassing importance. The

plied, until every man and woman, who can The two organizations are intrinsically irreconread, be furnished with the whole argument for cilable.

on hand several new stories, and the promise faith to each other. of one from the pen of Mrs. Southworth, to ommence in the first number of the new

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Money may be forwarded, at my risk Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or implied by them, will be the test in the Nacertificates of deposit, to
G. BAILEY,

Proprietor National Era, Washington, D. C.

POLITICAL SURVEY-HOW UNION IS TO BE EFFECTED. navery men who still adhere to the Know

Nothing Party. Let us reason together. The Michigan-Free Democrat, a paper which two since remarked-

"Now that the Know Nothing party has be come so extensively dominant in the country it is a matter of some solicitude whether or no t will be spoiled by its unexpected success influential as this, and controlling so much the affairs of Government, will be speedily compel led to avow its policy in the most distinct ma

This is remarkable language for a Republic can journal. It assumes, first, that the Know Nothing Party is pure and sound; secondly that it has not yet avowed its policy! Must we say that this is a pretty fair illustration of the tactics of a large portion of the old Free Soil Press? Speaking of the differences of opinion among the Know Nothings in the several States, the same paper says:

"These differences will now undoubtedly either be reconciled, or some one of the meas ures of antagonistic policy will be taken up and become of universal acceptance, and the we shall be enabled clearly to see just what the cause of Freedom has to expect at its hands."

This is the attitude of patient waiting on the

footsteps of Know Nothingism, maintained by many old Anti-Slavery men. They have been laboring under the strange hallucination that this Secret Order was the chosen instrument of Heaven for the redemption of the nation; while others, not so deplorably misled, still would tamper with it, under the delusion that it can be made ultimately subservient to the Anti Slavery Cause. The Cleveland Leader, for example, disappointed at the result of the Massachusetts election, "apprehends the great issue of Slavery and Freedom was too little attended to, while the question of Know Nothingism attracted too much notice. That the Know Nothings of Massachusetts are Anti-Slavery in their feelings, will not be denied; that they would have united with the Republicans on an Antilayery platform, is, we think, equally certain tually dead in the North: but there is enough infinitely better than any other that was pre-

sented in that State." The Republicans of Massachusetts, intending the election upon the Slavery issue alone, se Anti-Slavery professions, would not take tha blame the Republicans of Massachusetts: if not he must justify them, and utterly condemn the

The same paper, just before the Cincinnat Know Nothing Convention, could hardly believe that an attempt at reunion with the National Order would prevail.

"There are not a few who predict that it wil set up a barrier against a union with the National Republican party, and that it will make York, the Party planted itself openly on the overtures of reconciliation to the Southern wing sion of Kansas as a State, in conformity to the idea, there can be no doubt that at least a portion of the delegates to that Convention will be favorable to it. It is barely possible that a reunion may be formed.

and Southern Know Nothings over the defeat | then, the Order had not undertaken to assume

canism, and the continuance of power in the that are constantly courting the Know Nothing | their platform, as follows: moment cannot be too urgently impressed upon | They are committing precisely the same error gress, and by the People, on every occasion, at work of the Independent Democratic Party. every election. The work of organization The Know Nothing Order, in seeking to exought to be vigorously prosecuted, till every clude persons from office on account of birth county and town be fully prepared for the de- and religion, and to protract the period of nat- legislation to arrest that growing evil, the depers—there ought to be no jealousy between views men as equal, abhors caste, holds sacred them are alike needed. Republican papers the rights of conscience, and can respect no should be encouraged, and their issues multi- civil distinctions founded upon race or creed.

dress ourselves specially. It has fought the maintain a distinct, independent position. We

shall continue true to the principles of Civil and | positions, and settle their policies. The Repubthe Era, true to the rights of conscience with- in heart and action. If they would command posed to any modification thereof, except such that of Slavery.

Humanity without regard to race or birth, the themselves and to their own principles: it will in order to its greater perfection and efficiency.

You profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming President and their own principles: it will in order to its greater perfection and efficiency.

You profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming President and to their own principles: it will in order to its greater perfection and efficiency.

You profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming President and their own principles: it will in order to its greater perfection and efficiency.

You profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming President and the coming President and the profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming President and the profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming President and the profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming President and the pres Our tenth volume will begin with the first of another—for any of them to tamper with other the new year. We need hardly say that no Parties, whom their fellow-laborers are oppopains will be spared to maintain its position as sing. No Party can live, or deserves to live, a Literary and Family newspaper. We have the members of which do not maintain good and with us labor to secure their ascendency in gle issue, without any sacrifice of principle.

> Let us survey the political field. There will be three distinct nominations in the Presidential election-Republican, Pro-Sla- PATRIOTISM. very Democratic, Know Nothing or "American." Three Parties are already organizedthe Republican, the Pro-Slavery Democracy, and the Know Nothing. The first, represents the Principle of Liberty, the second, that of Slavery, the third, the policy of Caste and

The Slavery-Democracy has an organization in every State of the Union, but is really ascendant only in the slave States. It has been the main instrument of the Slave Power. Its one policy is, to yield to its exactions, and to enforce popular acquiescence in them. It repealed the Missouri Compromise, for the purpose of nationalizing Slavery, and it insists upon acquiescence in this repeal. The endorsement of the Fugitive Bill, of the Compromise of 1850, of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and of the policy embodied in them and tional Convention of the Party to be held in Cincinnati next year, and the sole issue tendered by its nominations.

The Republican Party is organized expressly o meet this issue. It refuses its endorsement to the Compromise and Fugitive Slave Bill of Compromise; and, striking at the Principle and Policy of all these measures—the extension and nationalization of Slavery-it demands, we had supposed to be Republican, a week or the total prohibition of Slavery in all Federal Territory.

These two Parties, then, confront each other on a single issue—Freedom and Slavery. Will the men who, adhering to the Know Nothing One thing is certain, that a party so large and Order, profess devotion to the cause of Free dom, answer this question: Suppose these two Parties, so arrayed, should be left, undisturbed by any other organization, undistracted by any other question, to decide this single, grand is sue, by their votes next November, what would be the decision? Can they hesitate—can they for a moment doubt, that the Right would tri umph, and the Slave Power be overthrown? But, another Party, with other issues, does intervene, and the result at once becomes doubtful. Who are responsible for this-who, respon sible for thus interposing in the conflict between the Slave Power and its Opponents, and for giving to the former a new lease of life? The twenty-four thousand Free-Soilers who voted a the thousands of Anti-Slavery men who are still tampering, in other States, with the Know

Nothing Order. We leave out of view its secret mummeries, of which it has grown ashamed-its extra-judicial oaths, which it proposes to give up-its anti-Christian policy of proscription, which it still clings to; our concern now is, simply with the osition of the Party in its bearings on the Slavery Question. It was not organized with a view to meet this issue, to dispose of it in Anti-Slavery man, holding this issue to be of paramount importance? It has diverted a Does this give it a claim upon their continued support? It has divided the free States on the of the Convention-

issue: and yet, they adhere! After the Order had been at work for a year, ly all the Anti-Slavery voters, it held its Na-

Freedom, had it verily believed the Slavery Question the paramount issue, it would have Freedom-it subordinated it to other objects. the Missouri Compromise, and to all agitation of the Order. Much as we, in this section of In Massachusetts, it arrayed itself against the only Party, organized to meet distinctly, both the free States, acting together for its accomand in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and ors are ringing with the shouts of Northern | Legislature of Vermont, a State in which, until

sympathizing with them, met in the State its principles and policy right or not? Will House at Montpelier, and, after the passage of the Leader, Free Democrat, and other papers the usual Anti-Slavery resolutions, laid down

"7. Resolved, That we are determined to us they answer in the affirmative, what have they all honorable efforts to secure such a modification of our naturalization laws, aided by such an elevation of public sentiment, as will pre guaranty the three vital principles of a Republican Government-SPIRITUAL FREEDOM. A FREE BIBLE, AND FREE SCHOOLS—thereby promoting the great work of Americanizing Amer

48. Resolved, That we invoke the arm uralization to twenty-one years, forfeits all portation, by foreign authorities, of paupers and onvicts to our shores; and that as our National institution requires the chief Executive of equally important that other high official functionaries, and especially our diplomatic repreprinciples to bias their judgment or to influence their official action.

To the readers of the National Era we ad in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, to assume and the Old World, who come imbued with the spirit punced, are still dear to it. Its course disposed to play fast and loose—whether from and perpetuating the blessings of civil and religious liberty, until, from one end of our land and holy principles embodied in the Constitu expedients to achieve tempo- Time presses-the Presidential canvass is tion of our land, and in that constitution of rary success. So long as the Republican Party | about opening-parties must take their true | principles emanating from the Throne of God. "10. Resolved, That we deem the present prohibitory liquor law of this State a part of its settled legislative policy, and that we are op-

principles are correct and just, and eminently may hasten on the day when our beloved country shall stand forth to the world, a model Re-

the above resolutions." The Green Mountain Freeman, which used prefers Know Nothingism to Republicanism, s delighted. "We publish," it says, "the Anti-Slavery American resolutions of a large and harmonious meeting of the members of hundred, which was held at the State House on one of the last days of the session, that all may judge for themselves how much the friends Freedom may have to hope for or to fear rom the action of that party in this State." Next comes the Cincinnati Convention of

November 21st, representing the Know Nothngs of the North, with the exception of New Nothing from Pennsylvania, made a "nationiberal, Anti-Slavery platform of Mr. Spooner,

Convention had been called by those members | we considered mischievous errors in an influion to this repeal as one reason for assembling, the delegates could do no less than adopt | may not speak to another, without violating the the following declaration: "That the repeal of the Missouri Compro-

efforts to that end should fail, Congress hould refuse to admit into the Union any State tolerating Slavery, which shall be formed out of any portion of the territory from which that institution was excluded by that

Well, this is a mere declaration: will they stand by it? They do not say so. They simply recommend to the National Council, to be eld at Philadelphia, its adoption, in place of Know Nothing ticket in Massachusetts, and the 12th section. But they do not insist upon it, declare that it is an ultimatum for intimate that they or their constituents will refuse to act with the National Council, should it decline to follow Look at the exact position of this Party. the recommendation. On the contrary they evidently proceed on the assumption that the National Council is to be and will be recognised; for they adopted another resolution. recommending that Council " to abolish all but one degree, and to require the word of honor instead of the obligation now required by the Order." To demonstrate the determination of their constituents in the free States, to mainany way. What business with it, then, has any tain their Order, to refrain from the policy of selves in a position where they can act for a large share of public attention from this issue. Know Nothing Presidential nomination, they resolved further-and this was the great work

stponement or abandonment of American rinciples, or the disorganization of the Ameri-

Mark, this is the position of the men who seceded from the Philadelphia Convention, on account of hostility to the 12th section of the Not a single State Council disbanded—only filled the expectation their conduct then authorized? Henry Wilson can count them on his fingers. The rest have held their Cincinnati Convention, and behold the "result!

We have looked over the whole political field, and ascertained the positions and relations Anti-Slavery adherents of the Know Nothing Order. Do you expect that the electoral vote united with the only Party, arrayed distinctly dential candidate, not known to be opposed to estly committed to the Principle and Policy of Say, then, what organization shall this be?

act with the National Know Nothings, but to of restoring the Missouri Compromise. Your organization in New York, and to a great ex-Pro-Slavery platform; and in Connecticut while assuming Anti-Slavery ground, proposes to act with the Nationals. Suppose you could organize a Northern Know Nothing Party on the Anti-Slavery, Native American basis, you could not carry New York and Pennsylvania against the National Know Nothings and Old Line Democracy, too. But, you know that you cannot organize an efficient Party on that twofold hasis.

In a few States, you have effected a combination of Anti-Slavery and Native American voters, in one Party; but you know perfectly nia, New York, and Massachusetts. The real hundred times before they will sacrifice their sentatives abroad, should also possess no foreign | Principles for a combination embracing a doc-

sustaining your policy, in relation to Know ty. Now, that there is an occasion, we say

our fellow-citizens who feel that the above dential election, of greater urgency and importcalled for by every consideration of justice and ance than any other. You then can give up sand sugar growers in Louisiana, it deserves patrictism, to meet us upon this broad platform, your organization, and act with us, on this sin-public reprobation. our State and Federal Governments, that we We institute no censorship over private opindom has never suffered a more injurious blow

ment of this Question, and thus secure a Re- We have not time to notice all the strange publican President, or, by adhering to your Know Nothing Order, divide the opponents of Protectionists of its school hold, that the Slave-Slavery, and invest the Slave Interest for an- holders want a good market to sell their cotton age of the Federal Government?

Choose, this day, whom ye will serve.

REPLY TO AN "EXPLANATION."

The National Era lays no claim to infallibil ity, or to exemption from criticism. With its York, where, the Order being already nation- cotemporaries it sustains friendly relations, but alized, no inclined plane is required to let it it does not expect that its views, or the style in slide easily into the National Order. We need which they are promulgated, shall pass unnot here reprint the report of its doings, pub- questioned. It is the right of one journalist to lished in the Era last week. Lieutenant Gov- point out what he considers the wrong opinion ernor Ford, elected by the Republicans of to resist what he believes to be the ill-judged Ohio, presided, and made a "national" policy, of another. Our course is from time to peech. That must be remembered. Ex-Gove time criticized, sometimes with severity, but we are not apt to t

A week or two ago, we commented, with some al" speech. Let that be remembered. The plainness, upon the constant attempts of the New York Tribune to revive at this time the of the Ohio Know Nothings, was rejected, only agitation of the Question of Protection, and eleven names being recorded in its favor out upon its pro-Russian policy, desiring to coun of 104. Let that be remembered. As the teract, so far as we could, the influence of what f the Philadelphia Convention who would not ential supporter of the Republican movement, equiesce in the repeal of the Missouri Com- We did full justice to the many excellencies of mise, and as the call had specified opposi- the paper, questioned neither its ability nor honesty, uttered no word which one gentleman rules of good breeding.

It seems, however, that a criticism well mean se was an infraction of the plighted faith of and courteously uttered, has been badly rehe nation, and that it should be restored; and, ceived. The Tribune, in a long editorial, replies to our comments, with ill-nature and arrogance. Our failure to recognise the impersonality of the paper as a shield to the individuals editorial contributors, it styles "impertinent." It has "no faith in that wretched tinsel [of free trade] which the Era cries up with such solemn credulity and such pitiable arrogance for, good gold." It has not the "happy faculty of professing a great devotion to Freedom, and doing the work of Slavery." It is a free trader, "but not of the school of Calhoun. Jeff. Davis, Pierce, and the National Era.' Our opinion on Protection it prefers to attribute, not to "moral perversity," but to "mental weakness, and a blind adherence to early and ignorant prejudice." "Very dishonest or very dull," is the Era, in its attempts to define the position of the Tribune on the Russian ques-

tion, but it prefers to consider it "very dull." This is a fair specimen of the style and temper of the Tribune's reply. We do not complain of it. It is so much more civil in its treatment of us than of others who differ from it, fusion with Republicans, and to hold them- that we feel under obligations to it, as for an extraordinary act of courtesy.

It is so much better to be called, dull, men tally weak, impertinent, pitiably arrogant, than "a liar and a villain," epithets not unknown "That this Convention protest against coa- in the editorial controversies of the Tribunes that we really imagine that dist personality has quite a friendly regard for us.

Still, we always prefer that our friends should be gentlemen. The most cordial relations are fellow, in spite of his bad breeding-but all the doing Jonathan.

call names, and just as easy to retort-but Billingsgate would furnish specimens in that line far beyond our genius, if not that of the Tribune-so we shall not enter into that contestthe Tribune may have the whole field of epithets, without a rival.

As to the immunities claimed by the Tribur on account of its impersonality, we have a few words to say. Should the editor of the London Morning Advertiser have learned that the wri ter of a certain mischievous article in the London Times was Lord John Russell, and should he conclude that such an allusion to this fact the noble Cato. as might give the public a hint of it, would help to counteract its influence, the Tribune would be very apt to call him a fool if he did not. Suppose, in commending certain articles guished author of a standard History of the United States-would this be deemed "imperpers, not excepting our standard of good breeding, the Tribune, have occasionally, in commenting upon certain articles in the Washington Union, for the sake of giving more point to their comments, ascribed authorship to one or another member of the Cabinet. How very

impertment!" Now, we tell our cotemporary that its claim o shield, by its impersonality, twenty individuals comprising its corps of editors, from all allusion, is simply childish; and, as this term is the only personality we have been guilty of, we hope our readers will forgive us. When, in a journal professing to regard the Anti-Slavery To the American Order in the United States: movement, represented by the Republican torial articles designed to give undue magnitude to other issues, articles which, from cer- thorizing the President to call a special meettain ear-marks, we know to have been written ing "upon the written request of five delegates by one who thinks that the Anti-Slavery move. representing five State Councils," the provision ment, from the beginning up to this time, has fact, and the Tribune may say just what it to the delegates to the National Council, that

The Tribune attempts to make the Era odious to a certain class of its readers, by classing it with "Calhoun, Jeff. Davis, and Franklin Pierce," on the Free Trade Question. Does classing it with the Washington Union. "Jeff. To the American Order in the United States: Davis," "Franklin Pierce," and "the Slavethe Russian Question? Such ad captandum ap-Republicans in those States will suffer defeat a peals to unthinking prejudice, is unworthy any journal that can argue.

The Tribune says the Tariff of 1846 wa ter, then, how Anti-Slavery you make your Or- | the slave-breeding and slave-trading interests." principles. The only result of your efforts must commenced, and we have never devoted a sin-We cannot come over to you, without stand- if we admonish it to be more careful in its ing upon your platform, adopting your issues, statements. But, we never dodge responsibili-

Mothingism, for, in your plan of action, you make that a Question equal in importance to reduces or removes duties imposed by the trict and State Council. Nothingism, for, in your plan of action, you frankly, that the Tariff of 1846, in so far as it out distinction of sect, true to all the rights of respect and win success, they must be true to as experience shall demonstrate to be requisite, I How can you ask this at our hands? But, terests of the free States have prospered under

The Tribune says that "the Cause of Free ion. Hold what views you please, concerning than from the Tariff of 1846! Of course, the public for freedom, virtue, intelligence, and Banks, Tariffs, the Public Lands, Naturaliza- annexation of Texas, the war against Mexico, tion-only do not make them the basis of Par- the sacrifice of the Wilmot Proviso in 1850, the "12. Resolved, That the several Editors in ty action—the one Question is, in brief, Prohi- Fugitive Slave Act, the election of Franklin this State are respectfully requested to publish bition of Slavery in all Federal Territory. On Pierce, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, this the opponents of Slavery, who can control and all the aggressions of the Slave Power, are the electoral college, can be united, and on this no worse than the Tariff of 1846! This needs to be a Free Soil paper, but now evidently alone. Will you then give up all other organion answer. Error is never more harmless than zations, unite in the one formed for the settle- when so extravagant as to shock common sense

> other four years with all the power and patron- in, and a cheap market to buy their goods in, and therefore they insist upon Free Trade. Well-that is human nature. But, because, for certain reasons of universal application, we also favor Free Trade, therefore we are an ally of "the slave-traders and slave-breeders!" The Tribune, on the other hand, denounces this poly-it scorns to be an ally of these respectable classes-it goes therefore for Protection. Mark, the assumption is, that Free Trade plays into the hands of Slaveholders, while Protection is against them. But, what is the argument of this class of political economists at the North? Protect your manufactures, and you ultimately cheapen the price of the manufactured articles so that, without a Tariff, in the end, the foreign articles could not enter into competition with them. Besides, the increase of manufacturing industry occasions an increased demand for raw materials. Oh-then the upshot of Protection is to cheapen to the planter his machinery and cotton and agricultural implements, in fact all that he needs for housing, working, and clothing his slaves, while it quickens the demand for his cotton, thereby giving new impetus to Slavery and Slavery Extension! Aye, railing at Free Trade because it makes Cotton, King, you would substitute Protection, which will only aggrandize his Kingdom!

As to the Pro-Russian sentiment of the Tribine, we must deplore it. It is painful to see a liberal journal denouncing in one column the filibuster usurpation of Walker in Nicaragua, heralding, it says, the absorption of Central America by the United States and Slavery, and advocating in another the absorption of unof fending Turkey by slaveholding and aggressive Russia. There is no consistency or decene in such a course. It is fit that the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer should be an advocate of Rus sian propagandism, for it says-

"Russia with Slavery has become great, powerful, and contented. Western Europe, with out Slavery, has rapidly retrograded, and become poor, seditious, and revolutionary. Taunted as we are with our institutions, we like to appeal to the example of Russian progress and Western European decline. No people in Christendom are so happy and contented as the Russians, except the people of our Southern

Nor can we sympathize with the bitterness with which the Tribune is accustomed to speak of England. We are the partisans of no foreign Power, but the true policy of this country is to cultivate peace and friendship with the English People. Such inflammatory tirades in inventions and patents, with illustrations as the following, from the Pennsylvanian, are &c., at one dollar a year, or ten cents a single absolutely hateful.

"Above all causes of aversion [to England] aggravated to a feeling of absolute animosity f not of hatred or revenge, there is that mor ster pet of English birth and foster-nursing-

It is even possible that there was a small catch in the arrangement that the English succeeded in making with the United States re-Perhaps John succeeded in slightly

"The time is about to arrive when there may he an end to English interference generally, The Tribune says we are "impertinent," and especially to English Abolitionism. As a suitable and altogether proper finish to the present war, England ought to lose India. It of the deepest interest to the commerce of the United States that she should now quietly disgorge all her Indian conquests. Such a summation would annihilate Abolitionism. That ebony woman of American politics, betrays emotion, though spit upon, would then

lisappear forever.
"Indignities have been freely offered to the United States by England, and especially in the American negroes. That is as yet unatoned for, but the time will arrive. England must lose India. Let this be the conclusion of all our speeches, as Delendo est Carthago was of

It is false that England has interfered in the question of Negro Slavery in this country. She has scrupulously respected our sovereignty, but she has abolished Slavery within her own limits, and for this we honor her. When Russia tional Government, cease to put her heel on the Peoples of Europe striving for Liberty, give shelter to political exiles, proscribed for their devotion to Freedom, and institute a Free Press, tinent?" We believe that the New York pacome her apologist.

A POLITICAL MOVEMENT

The subjoined official notices indicate a de termination on the part of the "American Order" to be promptly in the Presidential field with their candidates. We may merely remark. as an item of information to some of our readers, that the Councils of Virginia and North Carolina have intimated decided objections to any nomination at so early a day, preferring to await the action of the Democratic Convention.

In accordance with section three of article three of the Constitution of the National Council of the United States of North America, au of said section having been complied with by the authority of said Constitution, notice is been a blunder and a failure, we shall state the hereby given to the several State Councils, and there will be a special meeting of said Council, to be holden in Philadelphia, on Monday, the 18th day of February next, for the transaction of such business as may be brought before it. E. B. BARTLETT, President National Council U. S. N. A.

> NATIONAL AMERICAN COUNCIL. Executive Office, Covington Ky.

November 28, 1855. Be it known, that at the annual meeting of the National Council, in June, 1855, the follow-

Resolved, That a Convention for the purpos of nominating candidates for the Presidence trine and policy they believe wrong. No mat- "forced upon the country, for the advantage of and Vice Presidency be held in Philadelphia der in some States, you cannot hope to absorb | and that the National Era lends its "zealous | of delegates elected by the subordinate Cour the hundreds of thousands of Anti-Slavery support" to that great Pro-Slavery measure. cils, one in each Congressional district, and two by each State Council as Senatorial delegates

lution, and to give it full effect, I hereby pro give the victory to the Slave Interest, which, this! We have never, in fact, expressed any claim and make it known that, without delay the Councils of the Order in each Congression al district in each State, and that each State resent them in said National Convention a pointed by said resolution; and, to secure ull representation, it is recommended that for each Congressional and State delegate, two alter-

The Review.

LETTER TO A WHIG NEIGHBOR, on the approaching Gen eral Election, By an Old Conservative. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co.

We are indebted to some friend for a copy of a pamphlet bearing the foregoing title, under- it at once reminds the reader of the Arabian stood, we believe, to be from the pen of Dr. Nights, only the present volume is divided, in-Palfrey, and circulated in Massachusetts during | stead of nights, into fifty-four days. Besides the late canvass. It is a cogent appeal in be- this species of affectation, there is also the half of Republicanism, and it abounds in home | further one of presenting the author partly as thrusts at Straight-out Whiggery. It is to be a narrator in the third person, and partly in regretted that some pamphlet equally powerful the first. The anachronisms he commits show was not issued against Know Nothingism.

A DISCOURSE ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF REV. SAMUEL A fine, discriminative discourse, on a distinuished pioneer in the work of reform in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Jennings, who subsequently assisted in the organization | the half-romantic and serio-comic mode of narof the Methodist Protestant Church.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. November, 1855 New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor

& Maury, Washington, D. C. The articles on the Eastern Shores of the Black Sea, and on Professor Johnston's Last of the work is the insight given of the inhab-Work, are instructive; "Zaidee" and the itants of the Indian Archipelago, their man-Story of the Campaign," entertaining. The ners and customs, and mode of life. Still. writer of "Paris and the Exhibition" has a very poor opinion of Yankees, and a most ex- whole cast of the work, we feel it worth nothalted idea of his own countrymen. On the ing, compared with the plain and straight-forwhole, this number will pass.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. October 1, 1855. J. Mc Clintock, D. D., Editor. New York: Carlton & Phil lips. For sale by Gray & Ballantyne, Washington

A neculiarly good number. The topics are capital, for example—German Gymnasium and English Public Schools, Niebuhr, Geology of Words, Huc's Travels in China, First Chapter in the History of Methodism. &c.

GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. Philadelphia: Abrahan

H. See, \$3 a year. The new volume, commencing with January 1856, will contain 1,200 pages, together with music, steel and wood engravings, &c. The most distinguished American writers are secured for its columns, and the editor shows much tact and industry in his department. Each number contains also a monthly summary of

REPUBLICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. 1, No. 11. Octo ber, 1855. New York: James M. Lane. Its motto is, "Independent in everything-

Open to Free Discussion." The opening article, on the Democratic Party, proceeds on the cool assumption that the portant instruction with a manifestation of a Democratic Party really exists, as of yore. Its conversion into a Slavery-propagating party is entirely overlooked, and the writer does no even pretend to understand the reasons why the present Administration has become so unpopu lar! Whittier's poems are very liberally reviewed, and the copious quotations given, are about the best things in the Review. Another

American Party. On the whole, the Review appears to be iberal, but not very strong. Each number contains 144 pages octavo, making a volume o over 500 pages. Price \$5 a year.

THE INVENTOR. New York: Quimby, Haskell, & Co.

A neatly-printed periodical, containing mat ter of special interest to all persons concerned APPLETON'S CYCLOPCEDIA OF BIOGRAPHY.

We have received a specimen sheet of a new work, entitled, Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biogries of original memoirs of the most distinguished persons of all times. Edited by Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D., with numerous illustrations, to be issued from the press of D. Apoleton & Co., New York.

From the specimen, we infer that the work

will be quite attractive and highly useful. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW. October, 1855. New York

The Westminster has a most interesting pa per on the position of Woman in Barbarism and among the Ancients. In another article Dr. Cummings, the famous preacher, is han dled with great severity. The other papers are thus designated: Theism, Marcus Tullins Cicero, Drunkenness not curable by Legislation, the London Daily Press, Cotemporary Literature.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS, A Weekly Journal, By Charle Dickens. New York: Dix & Edwards, Publishers. Few periodicals rival this in point of entertainment. It contains just the kind of light reading a family wants.

THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.

Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston, have got out what they call a book of new music, inpared with great care by W. Williamson, Or. ranist and Director of Music at the Bowdoin Square Church, Boston. Many of the most eminent composers have contributed to the original department of the work.

LAND, LABOR, AND GOLD; or, Two Years in Victoria with Visits to Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. By William Howitt. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknon & Fields. 1855. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

William Howitt excels as a traveller. With owers, well trained, of close observation, a good humor, taking things easily, and thus geteye what is passing as he goes and comes. eaves on his pages are easily pardoned, for the sake of the fresh and buoyant spirit which lia, as it puts him on his guard against the many impositions practiced, and gives him a fair and truthful account of what he may expect There is a raciness about Mr. Howitt's off-

book, too, very interesting to the reader whose himself with the scenery and mode of living their houses. The ringleader in this was arrestbeing in form of a journal, gives us a picture of life as it is. There are many humorous in- of Lawrence are in arms, and have five pieces Like the books which come from the press

of Ticknor & Fields, the outward appearance of these volumes accords well with their valuable contents. THE PRISON OF WELTEVREDEN, and a Glance at the East Indian Archipelago. By Walter M. Gibs

The reading public is probably by this time

method of using the calamities he has suffered, and thrown together a history of his eventful

We hardly know how to class this work, as

fact, or fiction. Probably its place is partly

with both. Its plan is an unfortunate one, for that his memory is not always to be trusted; and were we to characterize the book as a phrenological product, we should say, self-esteem, large; combativeness, ditto; locomotive ness, prominent; and so on. There is an air of exaggeration, which borrows intensity from ration, which causes a lurking suspicion that the author is laughing behind the veil at the credulity of those who take the story to be meant as anything but a tale founded perhaps on a slender basis of reality. The best part even for this kind of knowledge, such is the ward, though more staid and less amusing, accounts of Sir Stamford Raffles and other travellers. It would have been better, we think, had the author told his story, and given the ncidents that transpired, less ambitiously, in a simple, sprightly, and graphic manner. We are reminded, as we read much of it, of Mayo's works, and others of that class, which have recently come from the press; and had the writer confined himself to writing a work of fiction, or a simple truthful narration, his success, we are confident, would have been greater. As it is, he seems trammelled with a lean ing now to one and now to the other, so that he cannot do himself justice either way. s.

Woman and HER DISEASES, from the Cradle to the Grave Adapted exclusively to her instruction in the physiological gy of her system, and all the diseases of her critical periods. By Edward H. Dixon, M. D., Editor of the Scalpel, &c. Tenth Edition. New York: A. Ranney

The author of this volume, well known in the medical world, has treated a subject embarrassed with many difficulties for popular instruction, delicately, and been enabled, by the course he has adopted, to combine much imspirit of kind sympathy for the sufferings of a large part of the human family. It is not designed to take the place of more elaborate discussions of the topics for medical men; but it is such a book as a judicious mother will gladly avail herself of, to gather hints as to the physical training of her children, and the prevention of evils by which disease and suffering article is dedicated to an exposition of the are introduced. The remarks on dress, diet, and exercise, are valuable, and deserve to be well studied.

JUNO CLIFFORD; a Tale, by a Lady, New York: Appleton & Co. One volume, pp. 408. Sold by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

This book is beautifully got up, in a style worthy of the purest and best inspirations of genius. And having said this, we have said all we can say in commendation of the book. The story of Juno Clifford is a story of the love of a married wife for an adopted son of her husband; and we wonder such a tale should have found such publishers.

&c. New York: Appleton & Co. One Vol. pp. 303. In beautiful contrast with June C. the moral, and the illustrations of the moral.

BEECHCROFT. By the Author of "The Heir of Redeliffe,"

rett & Davis. One volume, pp. 350. This work may be drawn from real life, as the author says it is in his preface, and "destitute of all coloring, other than that which is life had better be left in the dark places, to which, by the laws of good society, it is now

LIGHT AND DARKNESS; or, the Shadow of Fate. New York: Appleton & Co. One volume, pp. 319. Sold by

Robert Farnham, Washington, D. C. This is a story of fashionable life, which opens in the lovely City of Elms, but is soon transferred to the City of New York. The aim seem venial, may, by indulgence, grow into

"Eva had often heard Judge Woodward express his admiration of a pretty hand. She beauty, and soft, creamy whiteness, seemed to woo the beholder to touch its velvety softness she saw that little hand, upon which glittered quettishly on the crimson velvet cushion, which nhanced its whiteness, and saw the eyes of Judge Woodward riveted admiringly upon it. What wonder that the scene swam before her. and a painful, sickening sensation thrilled

through her whole frame SPAIN AND THE EUROPEAN ALLIES .- A CORespondent of the London News, writing from Paris under date of the 14th of November, pro fesses to transmit the exact sense, and nearly the very words, of a declaration recently made by General Espartero to a gentleman who had asked him whether there was any truth in the rumors of a projected alliance between Spain and France and England. The answer of Ger Espartero, thus communicated, is as follows: There is not at present any alliance. But Spain is a Latin nation; and if the war goes on,

she will certainly take part in it ultimately on the side of France and England. I incline to think that the war will become general in the spring. Should events compel Spain to draw the sword in this quarrel, you may be assured that the manner of her doing so will be such as to sustain the old Castilian glory, and that she will not accept a ship, a man, or a crown piece, from any Power in the world.'

REPORTED EXCITEMENT IN KANSAS. - St. Louis, Nov. 30 .- We have accounts from Independence to-day, stating that the armed Free State men had attempted to drive Mr. Coleman, a Pro-Slavery settler, from his claim near Hickory Point, Mr. Coleman killed one of his assailants, when a mob gathered together, drove him and other settlers off, and then burnt down ed by Marshal Jones, and taken to Lecompton,

Many citizens from Independence, Weston, and St. Josephs, have gone to offer their services to the Governor to restore order. The people

A number of houses have been burnt in Douglas county, and several families driven to Missouri for refuge. The law and order people of the Territory

are rallying in large numbers, to assist the sheriff in the execution of the laws. Sixteen houses were burnt at Bickery Point and several of the citizens were missing. AN ALLEGED SLAVE RELEASED. New York

ted by original sketches. New York: J. C. Riker. Dec. 4.—A letter has been received from Antigua, which states that the brig Loango, of Philadelphia, was boarded in the harbor of St. familiar with Captain Gibson's story of real or John's by the English authorities, and a negro fancied wrongs, and his claims, as detailed in cook, named Ross, was forcibly taken ashore fancied wrongs, and his claims, as detailed in under the pretext of his being a slave restrained from freedom. Ross protested that he was a tain the redress and compensation he deemed freeman. At last accounts, he was in the President National Council U. S. N. A. his due, he has turned his thoughts to another hands of the police, awaiting an investigation

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS. First Session. Monday, December 5, 1855.

SENATE. The First Session of the Thirty-fourth Congress commenced this day, conformably to the Constitution of the United States. The Senate having assembled at 12 o'clock. the oath prescribed by law was administered to

the new Senators: Mr. Crittenden presented the credentials of the Hon. Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois; which Mr. Cass desired to submit a protest against

the election of Mr. Trumbull, from members of the Senate and House of Representatives of Robert C. Dean received 23; W. Hodges, 3; Illinois, which he wished laid on the table, and J. G. Butler, 10; Henry Ward Beecher, 2; T. as soon as the Senate was organized he should Parker, 1; David (Paul) Brown, 2; B. H. Chathe Republican cause in Ohio, declaring most move its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary or a select committee The protest was not read, but is understood

to be signed by thirteen Senators and twentynine members of the House.] Mr. Trumbull, having taken the oath of office, took his seat.

Mr. Jones, of Iowa, presented the credentials of the Hon. James Harlan, of Iowa; which

Mr. Jones adverted to the fact that a protest had been laid on the table last session, from the Senate of Iowa, in relation to the election of Mr. Harlan; but, as he desired that the State should have the benefit of his service, he presumed there would be no objection to his being sworn in; and when the committees were formed the credentials or protest could be submitted together for decision

Mr. Mason asked for the reading of the protest, as there were several new Senators, to whom the subject was not familiar. The protest was read.

Mr. Mason considered it a duty to call for the reading, in order that the subject might be understood. He had formed no definite opinion on the subject, and would therefore make no Mr. Harlan, having taken the oath prescribed

by law, took his seat. A resolution was agreed to, informing the House that the Senate was organized, and ready to proceed to business; and also one fixing the daily hour of meeting at 12 meridian.

And the Senate adjourned. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. At 12 o'clock M. the House was called to order by John W. Forney, Esq., Clerk. The roll was called, when two hundred and twenty-

five Representatives and five Delegates answered to their names. The following are the names of the Representatives who were absent: Messrs. Childs of New York, Powell of Vir-

ginia, Seward of Georgia, Wright and Bennett 1; Oliver, of New York, of Mississippi, Davidson of Louisiana, Harrison of Ohio, Miller of Missouri, and Trumbull Etheridge, 1; Carlile, 2.

The following are the names of the Delegates who were absent: Messrs. Gallegos of New Mexico, and Chap

Vote for Speaker .- Mr. Jones, of Tennessee I move that we do now proceed, viva voce, to the election of a Speaker to preside over this body during the present Congress. The question being put, the motion was agreed to; and Mr. Benson of Maine, Mr.

Dowdell of Alabama, Mr. Hickman of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Washburne of Illinois, were appointed tellers to conduct the election. Mr. Jones, of Tennessee. I present the name of William A. Richardson, a Representative from the State of Illinois, as the Democratic

candidate for Speaker of this House. Mr. Whitney, of New York, nominated Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky. Mr. Knight, of Pennsylvania, nominated Henry M. Fuller, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Leiter, Ohio, nominated Lewis D. Camp-

Mr. Bishop, of New Jersey, nominated Alexander C. M. Pennington, of New Jersey.

Mr. De Witt, of Massachusetts, nominated Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts.

The roll was then called, and the tellers reported that the whole number of votes given Mr. Campbell, of Ohio -Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky

Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania -Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey Mr. Harlan, of Ohio Mr. Wheeler, of New York Mr. Thurston, of Rhode Island Mr. Howard, of Michigan Mr. Washburn, of Maine Mr. Mace. of Indiana Mr. Bennett, of New York Mr. Williams, of New York Mr. Lake, of Mississippi Mr. Haven, of New York Mr. Galloway, of Ohio -Mr. Nichols, of Ohio Mr. Miller, of New York Mr. Sage, of New York Mr. Jones, of Tennessee

The following is the vote in detail: For Mr. Richardson-Messrs. Aiken, Allen Barclay, Barksdale, Bayly, Bell, Bocock, Bowie Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Burnett, Cadwalader Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Georgia Cobb of Alabama, Craige, Crawford, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Fuller of Maine, Goode Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Alabama, Harris of Illinois, Herbert, Hickman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, Jones of Pennsyl vania, Keitt, Kelly, Kidwell, Letcher, Lumpkin Marshall of Illinois, Maxwell, McMullen, Mc Queen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Quitman, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Stephens, Stew

art, Talbott, Taylor, Vail, Warner, Watkins, Wells, Winslow, and Wright of Tennessee. For Mr. Campbell.—Messrs. Albright, Bar-bour, Bennett of New York, Benson, Bingham, Brenton, Clark of Connecticut, Colfax, Cumback, Day, Dean, Dickson, Dunn, Durfee, Galoway, Gilbert, Granger, Harlan, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard Hughston, Kelsey, King, Leiter, Mace, Matteson, McCarty, Miller of New York, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Norton, Parker, Pelton, Pennington, Pettit, Sabin, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Stanton, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Watson, Welch, Woodruff, and Woodworth.

For Mr. Marshall.—Messrs. Campbell of have so well united the friends of Freedom in Kentucky, Carlile, Clark of New York, Cox, Ohio as Mr. Chase. Some ten or twelve thou-Cullen, Davis of Maryland, Etheridge, Eustis, Foster, Harris of Mazyland, Hoffman, Kennett, Lake, Lindley, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky

For Mr. Banks .- Messrs. Buffington, Bur lingame, Chaffee, Comins, Cragin, Damrell, Davis of Massachusetts, De Witt, Dodd, Emrie, Hall of Massachusetts, Knapp, Knowlton, Mott, Perry, Pike, Sage, Tappan, Thorington, Traf-

For Mr. Fuller .- Messrs. Bradshaw, Broom, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Covode, Dick, Edie, Knight, Kunkell, Millward, Pearce, Purviance, Richey, Roberts, Robison, Sneed, Todd, and

For Mr. Pennington.-Messrs. Bishop, Clawson, Fuller of Pennsylvania, Meacham, Robbins, Stranahan, and Wakeman.

For Mr. Harlan .- Messrs. Ball, Bliss, and

For Mr. Wheeler .- Messrs. Banks, Oliver of New York, and Thurston. For Mr. Thurston. Messrs. Spinner, Wheeler, and Williams.

For Mr. Howard .- Messrs. Billinghurst, and Washburn of Wisconsin. For Mr. Washburn.—Messrs. Allison and

For Mr. Mace. - Mr. Campbell of Ohio. For Mr. Bennett.—Mr. Edwards. For Mr. Williams,-Mr. Nichols. For Mr. Lake.-Mr. Humphrey Marshall. For Mr. Haven .- Mr. Knox.

For Mr. Galloway .- Mr. Giddings. For Mr. Nichols.-Mr. Grow. For Mr. Miller .- Mr. Haven For Mr. Sage.—Mr. Pringle. For Mr. Jones.—Mr. Richardson.

Three more ballots were had, with similar re-

And at half past two o'clock the House ad-

Tuesday, December 4, 1855.

SENATE. Messrs. Hale, of New Hampshire; Durkee, of Wisconsin; Yulee, of Florida; and Pearce, of Maryland, new members, were duly sworn in ain, by ballot, with the following result: Whole number of votes given, 45; necessary to a choice, 23.

pin, 1; Leonidas Rosser, 1; Wm. H. Holcomb, : Archbishop Hughes, 1. The Senate then adjourned. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. The Clerk of the last House (presiding at the

Mr Morgan objected.

lay's proceedings,

The Clerk put the affirmative of the question, and announced the motion carried. On motion of Mr. Bocock, they next proceeded to the fifth ballot for a Speaker, with the folowing result:

Whole number of votes east, 220. Necessary for a choice, 111. Mr. Richardson received 74; L. D. Camp bell, 58; Banks, 23; H. M. Fuller, 20; H. Marshall, 19; Pennington, 8; Wheeler, 1; Walker, 2; Nichols, 1; Haven 2; Oliver, of New York,

Howard, 2; Lindley, 1; Williams, 1; Thurson, 1; Zollicoffer, 1; Mace, 1.

No choice being made, the House proceeded to the sixth ballot, with the following result,

Whole number of votes cast, 223; necessary to a choice, 112. Mr. Richardson received 75 Campbell, 57; Pennington, 9; Banks, 25; Ful er. 22; Marshall, 18; Walker, 1; Nichols, 1 Haven, 2; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2 Lake, 4; Thurston, 2; Zollicoffer, 1; Mace, 1; Carlile, 1; and one or two others received scat-

No choice having been effected, they pro-seeded to a seventh ballot, with the following

Whole number of votes cast 223; necessary to a choice, 112. Mr. Richardson received 74; Campbell, 54; Pennington, 10; Banks, 28; Fuller 20; Marshall, 20; Wheeler, 1; Walker 1; Haven, ; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2; Washburn, of Maine, 1; Zollicoffer, 2; Thurston, 2; No choice having been effected, the House

FROM ST. LOUIS

St. Louis, Nov. 26, 1855. To the Editor of the National Era:

The universal cry in St. Louis is hard times, and this seems strange, when it is well known that the vast extent of country, of which St Louis is the metropolis, is at this time in the most flourishing condition ever known, every town and city in the neighboring States making rapid strides to wealth, unimproved lands in Illinois selling readily at ten dollars an acre, while thousands of acres in Missouri, equally as good, fail to attract the settler at the low rate of a bit

But this is no new thing. Slavery blights all that it touches; and yet how astonishin when this is so well known, that the infatuated tizen of the slave State is ready to unite with the unprincipled politician, and "cry aloud" for the extension of Slavery; but this state of things will not always continue, depend upon it; a great change is now taking place, and whole communities in the South as well as North will dare to speak and act against this great evil, that has grown to such magnitude in our country. Look at the change in Alton, Ill., where was 225; necessary to a choice, 113; and that—eighteen years ago Lovejoy was killed, in atmember at the control of Ill., had received 74 votes. The control of Ill., had received 74 votes. The control of Ill., had received 74 votes. igious Anti-Slavery Press. But what do we find now in that city of more than ten thousand in habitants? Why, not enough Nebraska Democrats to fill the offices in the gift of the Adminstration, making it necessary to import their

own creatures for that purpose. The Alton Courier is edited and published by George Brown, Esq., a young man of rare endowments, and who will yet make his mark in Illinois. This excellent paper has done a good work, and will no doubt continue to labor faithfully in the Free Soil cause. We believe that outside of Chicago it has the largest circulation and is the most extensively read of any paper in the State: but Alton is not the only place where the people are shaking off the shackles that have bound them. Here in St. Louis, we affirm that men can as boldly declare their sentiments as in any city in the Union, none daring

We are more than pleased at your course in We are more than pleased at your course in because they give countenance to the exaggeexposing the evils of Know Nothingism. By because they give countenance to the exaggerations which have been spread abroad in re all means, labor to separate liberal principles from such narrow-minded selfishness. They have not one redeeming quality; and should they meet with much success, ruin and evil can alone follow in their path. St. Louis is already suffering from the consequences of their but par-tial success, as a writer in the *Democrat* proves.

The New York Tribune has many readers ere, but I lament its taking sides with Russia. How can it possibly strengthen the hands of the Slave Oligarchy in this country? Its hatred of the Free Trade policy of England is the secret cause of its present course. Your exposure of its inconsistency is well timed. May it be con tinued against all that tends to wrong or oppres-Yours, truly,

TOLEDO, OHIO, Nov. 24, 1855. To the Editor of the National Era:

I have just read the communication of a corespondent at Cadiz, in Harrison county, Ohio, ned L. L., and published in your issue of the 15th instant, which, in my opinion, contains a sentence calculated to convey a wrong impresstanding in Ohio, though doubtless it was not freely poured out his indignation on the Free so intended. Your correspondent says "that State men, for their alleged disorganizing and we fought the battle under many discouraging revolutionary movements. He expressed his ircumstances, and Mr. Chase was a great Now, the fact is, that no other man could

sand Pro-Slavery Whigs, who would have voted for no prominent or reliable Anti-Nebraska man, voted for Governor Medill, in hopes of that he would not believe them on oath, and Paine, Porter, Puryear, Reed, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Smith of Alabama, Swope, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Whitney, and Zollicof- sion of the people on the Slavery question, such in power. preventing, so far as the strength of parties | that he would rather the Czar of Russia should sion of the people on the Slavery question, such in power, as the election of Mr. Chase would be conceded I did n and admitted by all to be. Add to this num- vention; but I understand they are very temper the twenty-four thousand ultra Pro-Slavery perate and conservative in character. Govern-proscriptive Know Nothings, who voted for or Shannon was appointed chairman of a com-Trimble, and you have between thirty-six and mittee to draw up an address to the People. thirty-seven thousand voters, who were simply The address, as well as the resolutions, will be opponents of this Administration from prejudice | made to suit the new character of these "Law nd old antipathies, and not because of its Pro- and Order" men, who recently gloried in the Slavery character, they themselves being the name of "Border Ruffians." They will pain very embodiment of doughfaceism and conservatism. To a man, these men voted against
Mr. Chase, but to a man they supported the

these conservative documents upon the people as the real sentiments of the men who recently washington, as neither cotton, tobacco, hemp, acted as the leaders, followers, and friends, of rice, nor sugar, can be grown up there. Then

palance of the Republican State ticket, in order, if possible, to justify the charge, then every where industriously and pertinaciously circula ted, of Mr. Chase's unpopularity. So loud were they in their clamors about Mr. Chase being they in their clamors about Mr. Chase being "Union Democrats;" and, says he, "knowing India Island of St. Thomas, the price of which, a load upon the ticket, that many of our best your patriotism and love for the Union, I doubt five millions of dollars, may be taken also as friends, both in and out of Ohio, appear to have become deluded with such a belief, when in ening as far as possible away from Mr. Chase the liberal foreign vote, and then either voting themselves for Mr. Medill or Mr. Trimble, suc-

The truth is simply this: not one thousand great majority of them for no man not a mem-

Platform. you please, by his unqualified devotion to the in Illinois, and "more loathsome in their view States. No election having yet been made—
Mr. Keitt moved that the House adjourn until to-morrow at 12 o'clock. He, however, with
great cause of human freedom, was enabled to overcome this unprincipled combination, and be persuaded to touch him with a pair of tongs twenty feet long." Your correspondent was not

of the House be 12 o'clock M.; which motion was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Keitt then renewed the motion to adjourn, and it was agreed to—ayes 119, noes not counted.

To some, this may appear as if the Republican Association of Washington.

To some, this may appear as if the Republican Association of Washington.

To some, this may appear as if the Republican Association of Washington.

The Association of Washington.

This Association have established their replied, "You are not the man I knew in Illinois." The Indian war which now rages at the North, should have been dispressfully defeated. And any acquaintance with him. He replied, "You are not the man I knew in Illinois." The Indian war which now rages at the North, should have been dispressfully defeated. And should have been disgracefully defeated. And I am very certain that, had Mr. Chase been know. I presume his slanders, without the rerunning with but two tickets in the field-one traction, will go the rounds of the Pro-Slavery an Administration ticket, and the other an An- prints. ti-Administration ticket—and free from the

> acknowledgment that to him, more than any other man, were we indebted for the success of stead of Leavenworth, with its hundreds. people of Ohio.

Clerk's desk) having read the journal of yester- well, I think, to examine all the facts connect ed with our recent canvass, before they make Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved that the public such statements, and not thoughtlessly rules of the last House be enforced, so far as take up and reiterate the base calumnies of our they exclude persons not admitted under them | vilest foes, especially when it is calculated to within the Chamber, while the House may be do no good, but greatly injure the cause of Lecompte. Yours, truly, Kansas. Freedom and its advocates and defenders. Truly, yours, J. M. A.

NEW HAVEN, Dec. 1, 1855. To the Editor of the National Era:

We obtained a glorious victory for Freedor and the Maine Law in our town election last Tuesday. The direct issue was Freedom, Maine aw, and opposition to the present Administraow of a doubt, is the fact, if the friends of good

law and order are only united. Hartford, I believe, has raised five thousand dollars for the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and I trust we shall do as well here. A very great majority of our best citizens are deeply interested in Freedom for Kansas. have had of late several very interesting meetings on the subject, which were addressed by Hon. Mr. Thayer of Worcester, Mr. Wilcox of Kansas, and other gentlemen. Yours, &c.

STOCKBRIDGE, Nov. 24, 1855. To the Editor of the National Era:

You will perceive that in those counties i this State where the greatest amount of Anti-Slavery labor has been performed, and the Era has had the greatest circulation, the Republi cans have carried the State, to wit: Madison Oneida, Jefferson, St. Lawrence, and Onondaga &c., which should be a stimulus and encour agement to an energetic perseverance on the part of Anti-Slavery pioneers. In our little town of Stockbridge, which used to be two-thirds Democratic, we had a majority of Republicans of thirty-eight, over all the three other parties put ogether. I tell you I felt richly paid for sixteen years' service in the good cause.

Respectfully, your friend and fellow-laborer

DAVID WOOD. KANSAS AFFAIRS.

Our valuable correspondent in Kansas, re citing the facts in the late affray resulting in the death of Collins, shows that there is no cause for alarm to peaceful settlers.—Ed. Era. LEAVENWORTH CITY, KANSAS,

November 16, 1855. To the Editor of the National Era: On the 30th ult., Mr. Collins, a prominen and highly respectable Free State citizen of Doniphan, was murdered. It occurred in this way: Pat. Laughlin, who was a member of the Free State Convention of September, has lately deserted the cause, and in the Pro-Slavery papers has given a professed exposé of an alleged secret military association, which he affirms exists among the Free State men of the Territory. After this publication, Collins's He retorted that the family were liars. Colling demanded afterward that he should retract that slander by ten o'clock the next day. At the time appointed he called upon Laughlin, gun in hand, to require the retraction. He and his friends had armed themselves. One of them. named Foreman, probably thinking Collins would shoot, struck down his gun, and by the jar it went off, without injury to any one. Upon this, a man named Lynch discharged a ifle, loaded with ball and buck shot, into the side of Collins. As he staggered, mortally wounded, he knocked down Lynch, and, draw ing a knife, stabbed Laughlin. Collins died mmediately. Neither of the others was dan-

gerously wounded. Lynch has absconded, and aughlin has gone to St. Joseph's, Missouri. It is evident that Collins was a brave and honest man; but he did not justly weigh the onsiderations, which would have dictated greater caution. I dislike to mention such facts, gard to the perils that attend a residence in Cansas. Along the Missouri border one needs considerable prudence; but in most parts of the Territory people can dwell as securely as

The Constitutional Convention has adjourned. It has framed a Constitution, to be submitted to the people on the 15th of December. January 15th is the day appointed for the election of State officers and the members of the first Legislature of Kansas. The Legislature is to meet at Topeka on the 4th of March, 1856.

The Constitution contains no Black Law clause. It prohibits the introduction of slaves after its adoption by the people, but allows the slaves now here to be retained till July 4, 1857. The Law and Order Convention, composed a part of the men who tarred and feathered Phillips, has just been held in this place. Governor Shannon presided, and Dr. Stringellow was Secretary. The Governor is a very pleasant, courteous man in social intercourse. But I am constrained to say that he made revolutionary movements. He expressed his belief in the validity of the Legislature and its laws; and he affirmed, that whoever might be against them, they might rest assured that they had a fast and firm friend in President Pierce. Mr. Calhoun, of Illinois, Surveyor of the two Territories, made an abusive and slanderous speech against the Free State men-declaring

I did not hear the resolutions of the Con-

the Missouri invaders. Gov. Shannon predicted that in the next sia has suggested to Denmark the Presidential election the strife would be be- settling the difficulty between the latter and the tween the "Black Republican party" and the not on which side you will be found."

become deluded with such a belief, when in fact these men only raised the cry, and by fright-sas correspondent, which has been republished windward of Porto Rico, with a population of in the Kansas Herald, was called for, and read. seven thousand souls. Right near to it is an-The letter contained the statement that Nebras- other small island, called Santa Cruz, also ownka Democrats, who were believed to act under ed by Denmark, with thirty-two thousand inceeded, as they thought, in making their decla-the influence of Senator Douglas, had entered heartily into this Free State movement. This heartily into this Free State movement. This ought to get both of these. But St. Thomas is statement disturbed them; and, on the princi- of much importance from its geographical pople of the boy who kicks the stone over which sition, which is such as would render it a formsand who voted against Mr. Chase, and for the rest of the Republican ticket, would have voted pondent, and his character was dreadfully blast- it has a fine harbor, and is always first sought for any prominent Anti-Nebraska man, and the ed, if the abuse of such men could effect it. Gen. Calhoun said he was intimately acquaintber of the National Know Nothing organization, subscribing to the doctrines of the Philadelphia that letter, and, in the classic language of this ish hold the West Indies, as a naval Power gentleman, your correspondent was described Mr. Chase, by his personal popularity, or, if as without character among his acquaintances of the West Indies and the coast of the United by British agents, in order, if possible, not to

The District Court of the Territory is in sescharge of Know Nothingism, he would have sion. The grand jury of last Court has been been elected by over one hundred thousand macollected, and six more added, and they have now brought in an indictment against McCrea This matter is daily being better understood by all intelligent and observing men. Indeed, it is but a day or two since that I saw in the probably hang him. The County Commissioncincinnati Gazette, a paper which had most earnestly opposed Mr. Chase's nomination, an Delaware, with its handful of legal voters, in Delaware, with its handful of legal voters, in Delaware, with its handful of legal voters, in the state of the state

A majority of the Commissioners decided unqualifiedly that his nomination was a wise that they had no right to go behind the records. and judicious one; and this is the conviction and judgment of the great mass of the solid must give it to Delaware, because its poll-book showed the largest number of votes. Kickapoo, Our friends at home and abroad would do vell, I think, to examine all the facts connect. of voters from Weston, to equal the number at Delaware from Platte city; so it is said, in this contest, that Platte city beat Weston. Leavenworth obtained an injunction, and the question is to be decided by the United States Judge,

> TRIAL OF McCREA-REBELLION AND CIVIL WAR AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

I learn that the case of McCrea, who is being tried at Leavenworth city, before Judge Lecompte, for the murder of Malcom Clark, last spring, progresses but slowly. The court has progressed very slowly. A great deal of diffition. Our majority is 400, and it would have been 600 or more if all those who are with us had done their duty, more especially those of The counsel for the prisoner filed demurrer to the indictment, partly for defects on its face, rupt Administration party has received its death wound in this town. Such, without the shading the Grand Jury. We learn that this demurrer has been overruled by Judge Lecompte, as also a motion to plead in abatement.

The case, we believe, has occupied ten days, and no progress in it has yet been made. was told that an effort would be made to get a change of venue, as it was apprehended that the prisoner could not get a fair trial here. Great dissatisfaction is expressed by the Free State men, because several members of the bar, and clerk of the Court, and some of the jury, both grand and petit, are of the "Border Ruffian" class, some of them having been engaged in lynching Phillips last spring. A motion has been made by one of the attorneys to dismiss the clerk and those of the attorneys who had been thus engaged, and affidavits were filed to prove these facts; but the Court has not granted the motion.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Nov. 29, 1855. Col. McCarty, of the Missouri House of Rep esentatives, received a despatch this evening which was read before the House. Colonel McCarty says there is no doubt of its genuine ness or correctness. Some regard it as a humbug, to influence the Senatorial election. Jones is sheriff of Douglas county; Lawrence is the

Westport, Nov. 27 .- Col. McCarty: Gov. Shannon has called out the militia against Lawrence. They are now in open rebellion against the laws, and Jones is in danger. We want help. Communicate this to the friends.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

The St. Louis papers of the 30th ultimo contain a despatch from Westport, Missouri, of the 28th, confirming the intelligence published yesterday, that there has been an open rupture in Kansas between the Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery parties. The despatch was addressed to a member of the Legislature at Jefferson

city, and is to the following effect:
"That Governor Shannon, of Kansas, had
the night before ordered out the militia against Lawrence, the county seat of Douglas county. There is an open rebellion against the laws, and Jones, the Sheriff of the county, is in danger. The call is for help." Mr. McCarty, to whom the dispatch was ad-

dressed, thought there was no doubt of its gento influence the election of a Senator in Mis

We understand that the President yesterday received a telegraphic dispatch from Gov. Shan non, of Kansas, by which it appears that a civi war is really threatened. The Governor requests prompt assistance from the General Govern ment, and, in conformity with this request, the President has ordered the immediate dispatel of troops from the posts nearest the disturbed district, for the purpose of preserving the peace National Intelligencer.

MORE TROUBLE IN KANSAS-PRISONERS RES-CUED BY A MOB.

St. Louis, Dec. 3 .- Advices from Kansas state that Gov. Shannon has telegraphed the President the condition of affairs in Kansas. He states that 1,000 men had arrived in Law rence, and rescued the prisoners from the sheriff of Douglas county, who were arrested for burning the houses and other property, and asks the President to order troops from Fort Leavenworth to aid in the execution of the laws.

Dispatches from Weston announce that start ing news has been received from Atchison. The Free State officers had taken possession o important papers, and an attack on Atchison was anticipated. The officers had sent to Wes ton for 50 armed men.

COMING EVENTS FORESHADOWED.

More Territory .- The twenty-ninth parallel of latitude is named as the next Southern boundary of the Union. General Gadsden is said to have been negotiating with Santa Anna for a new cession of territory, including all north of that line, when the progress of the revolution interrupted the proceedings. Of course, Gadsden has a way of writing home to hi friends vague hints of important things going on, which sets conjecture all agog to ascertain weak and uncandid stump speech against the on, which sets conjecture all agog to ascertain free State movement. No word of censure the precise truth. The difficulty about the paydid he utter against the Missouri forays, but ment of the three millions of the last indemni ty, and the demand for reparation for Calla han's invasion and the burning of Piedras Ne gras, all conspire to assist this conclusion; and probably before President Pierce goes out of office, he will communicate a new treaty, with a fresh demand on our surplus millions. twenty-ninth parallel would throw into the Uni ted States two-thirds of the Mexican State of

Sonora and two-fifths of Chihuahua, with population enough to form one of our States. such case, the new territory would have to go under political pupilage as a Territory, or else New Mexico would have to be admitted as a State. A rumor is affoat in the newspapers, to the effect that General Gadsden has word to Washington, that if the balance of the Mesilla indemnity be not paid to the present Government of Mexico, not another foot of territory will be ceded to the United States. Meantime, we have various other projects for acquir ing new colonies. Thus the report is revived that Russia is willing to sell her American pospassions to us for a consideration in moneyrice, nor sugar, can be grown up there. Then there is a report coming from Europe that Rus-United States by selling to us the Danish West our consideration for freeing us of the Sound

windward of Porto Rico, with a population of by vessels in distress coming from seaward. Were it in our posssesion, it would, in a great might from it command the whole eastern front

til to-morrow at 12 o'clock. He, however, withdrew the motion, at the request of
Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, who moved that until otherwise ordered, the daily hour of meeting

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Mer. Jones, of Tennessee, who moved that until otherwise ordered, the daily hour of meeting the decition in Nebraska for

twenty feet long." Your correspondent was not
present returns indicate the election in Nebraska for

a delegate to Congress is still in doubt. The
present returns indicate the election of Bennett,
the Anti-Slavery candidate.

The United States mail steamer Atlantic, Capt. West, from Liverpool, one o'clock afternoon of Saturday the 17th, arrived at this port last The St. Louis arrived at Southampton on at Liverpool early the same morning.

Latest dispatches from the seat of war report

a victory gained by Omer Pasha over the Rus-iaus at the River Ingour, in Asia Minor. We have as yet but a bere announcement of the fact. There are indications that Ayen Muraveiff is about to raise the blockade of Kars, and retire into winter cantonments. In the Crimea, both armies-Russian and Allied-are wholly occupied in hutting and preparing for winter. A desultory fire is kept up between the north and south side of Sebastopol, while the fortifica-tions on both sides are being augmented. The bulk of the fleets in the Black Sea are withdrawing toward Constantinople, and but a few ships remain in the liman of the Dneiper. The mperor Alexander has returned from the again very prevalent, and great diplomatic activity prevails, especially at Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, and Brussels. The French Exposition has been officially closed. Medals, including money prizes and stars of the legion of Fort Humboldt; one company of the first drahonor, were distributed with a lavish hand. We give elsewhere a list of the Canadian awards, but have not received a list of the successful competitors from the United States.

Latest.—The following is Lord Stratford de

Latest.—The following is Lord Stratford de Redeliffe's official dispatch:

"Therapea, Nov. 15.—At noon of the 5th, Omer Pasha forded the River Ingour, at the head of 20,000 men, and defeated the Russians, computed at 10,000, including militia, and partly entrenched. The enemy lost about 400 n killed and wounded, sixty prisoners, and three guns. The Turkish loss was upward of 300. The British officers did honor to their

The Liverpool cotton market, which in the eginning of the week was active, had become quiet, and closed at last week's quotations. Breadstuffs had been in fair business, at a further slight improvement. Provisions are slightly improved. The Manchester market had been quieter, and a "strike" of the operatives seems inevitable. The money market had unexpectedly become stringent; the demand for accommodation has increased, and a further advance in the rate of interest is apprehended. Consols closed on Friday dull, at 87 (a) 88.

Among the passengers by the Atlantic is Col. Tal. P. Shaffner, who has resided some onsiderable time past in Russia, and now returns to make arrangements to carry out the contracts he has made with the Russian Government. Col. Shaffner has secured contracts for railronds, telegraphs, and other public works, on the most gigantic scale and on very favorable terms. In addition to the enterprises above named, the Colonel has become largely nterested in property belonging to the Arch duchess Marie, sister of the Emperor, and to others of the princes and princesses of the house of Romanoffsky. The aggregate cost of the works undertaken by Col. Shaffner, repreenting the enormous amount of \$26,000,000 affords a splendid margin for the triumphs of American skill and energy.

GREECE. Considerable remark has been excited by the ew United States Minister to Greece paying a ormal visit to the Russian Minister, who reformal visit to the Russian Minister, who returned the visit on board an American ship of but to redouble the efforts and augment the war. There is a statement in the French papower of abolition. Civil war is a direful capers, that the United States make an offer to pay up the indebtedness of Greece to England and France, in consideration of receiving the Island

of Milo for 90 years.
Athens letters of Nov. 9 announce the departule of the American squadron from Constantinople; also, that the legislative session closed n the 6th.

THE VERY LATEST.

London, Saturday, P. M.—It is reported in of their ancestors, and it will never be surren-Paris that one object of General Canrobert's mission to Stockholm is to demand the hand in duty, and leave the consequences to God." marriage of a daughter of the King of Sweden for Prince N to the French Imperial throne.

The line of telegraph from Sympheropol and Nicolaiëff to St. Petersburgh is now open. The Bourse of Paris has not known whether to interpret the speech of the Emperor in a pacific or a warlike sense. It expresses a desire for peace, without evincing any disposition to

Consols closed this afternoon week at 88.

NICARAGUA.

Walker, the filibuster, seems to be on the high road to renown, as the founder of a new State. His control of Nicaragua is represented by the latest intelligence, given in our columns this morning, as more solid and secure than ever. Corral, the last man who might have headed a movement against his authority has been convicted of treasonable correspond ence with some relics of the opposite party, and shot. By every arrival from California, rein forcements swell the army of the chieftain, and, if he continues to manage his affairs with the same discretion which te has hitherto exhibit-

ed, no power can expel him from his position. The moment chosen by Walker for the invasion of Nicaragua was the best conceivable. The country was exhausted by a prolonged civil war. Everybody desired peace, and any commander who could secure it would have peen welcomed by what remained of the people The leaders of the contest on both sides were dead, removed either by battle or by pestilence and their followers had also been decimated by the same causes. In fact, there was no longer even the semblance of a native army to con quer, when Walker moved upon the capital The plaza of that town, where for mo Chamorro had held Castellon at bay, had not now a defender, and the only military man of ernor in Wisconsin in all but five counties, and any prominence remaining to the countryreported results in three others, leaving but Corral-made haste to submit and make a treaty with the invader, to break it, however, very soon, and to pay the penalty with his life.

A more facile conquest is not recorded in history. The acquisition of Texas by the Americans was nothing to it. We must admit that since his triumph the conqueror has exhibited a great degree of po litical sagacity. The Presidency was in his grasp, but he preferred that Don Patricio Rivas. a prominent native Nicaraguan, should be put of business. The subjects of internal improv into that office at least for the present. By this means, Walker saved the Government from in the business of the session, as the charters of that revolutionary and alien air, which in his own hands it would have worn. The Nicaraguans would certainly be very ungrateful to re fuse their allegiance to an Administration with one of their own number at its head. Besides had he become President, foreign Governments would have been slow to form relations with the new regime; but there could be no reason why they should not recognise Rivas, who had been in high office before, and had borne a decent character as the world goes. The shrewdness of this plan is justified by the result. The Minister of the United States has already exchanged congratulations with the new chie magistrate, and the others are likely to follow When the revolution is thoroughly legitimated Washington, as neither cotton, tobacco, hemp, | will be ready to make himself nominally dicta tor, as he already is in reality, and to carry his great project another step towards its consum

That project is briefly to fill the country with Americans, to introduce Slavery, and to procure the annexation of Nicaragua to the North American Union as a slave State, with the prospect of a similar result for the adjoining ountries. This is the scheme, and it is bei hurried toward its realization with unexampled rapidity. What do the people of the free States think of this new conspiracy to extend the power of the oligarchy by which they have so long been ruled and used?—N. Y. Tribune.

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.—The foreign des patches received by the steamer Atlantic repre sent our affairs with England to be unchang since the sailing of the previous steamer. Buchanan says that Lord Clarendon and the British Cabinet are endeavoring to patch up a reply to our Government's communication in reference to the violation of our neutrality law wound our sensibilities, and at the same time shield Mr. Crampton.

er from Oregon, is about to be grappled with by the distinguished veteran commanding the Pacific division, with all the energy characteristic of that gallant officer. The whole disposable force at the command of General Wool is unday, the 11th, the Atlantic having arrived to be concentrated at two points—one division, the operations of which General Wool will direct in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at rect in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at rect in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at rect in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at rect in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at rect in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at rect in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at rect in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at the content of the person of the p Fort Lane. The General proceeds from this place on Tuesday, on board the steamer Columbia, for Humboldt, and thence to Fort Dalles from which point he will direct the operation against the enemy. He takes with him the company stationed at the Presidio, under com mand of Captain Keyes, and another company from Fort Humboldt. The General is accord panied from this city by Major Cross, at the head of the Quartermaster's Department; Major Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General Captain Cram, Topographical Engineers; and Lieutenants Bonnycastle and Arnold, his im-mediate aids. Large quantities of ordnance subsistence, and quartermaster's stores, are be Crimea to St. Petersburgh. Peace rumors are ing speedily shipped on board the Columbia, for

the use of the expedition. There will be then concentrated at Fort Dalles the following force: The company from the Presidio: a company of the fourth infantry from goons, under command of Major Fitzgerald who proceeds from Fort Lane to join the expe dition; and all the disposable troops of the district comprising Fort Vancouver and Fort Dalles. under Major Raines, who has already taken the field.

For operations against the Rogue River and neighboring Indians, there will be concentrated at Fort Lane one company of the fourth infant ry, under Lieutenant Underwood, who has or lers to proceed from Fort Reading to that place one company of dragoons, under Captain Smith and one company of the fourth infantry, com manded by Captain Judah, who is already in the field.

The utmost activity prevails at Benicia, in the embarkation of mules, horses, stores, &c.; and if the steamer were but in readiness, the expedition could start this afternoon, although the news was only received on Thursday night

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES .-The Supreme Court of the United States commenced its annual term yesterday, all the mem

The Hon. John McLean, James M. Wayne, John Catron, Peter V. Daniel, Samuel Nelson, Robert C. Grier, Benjamin R. Curtis, John A. Campbell, Associate Justices. Jonah D. Hoover, Esq., Marshal. William Thomas Carroll, Clerk. Mr. Justice McLean announced to the Bar

that the Court would commence the call of the docket to-morrow, under the 36th rule. Adjourned until to-morrow, 11 o'clock. MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR ADAMS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA. - We find, in the Charleston Mercu-

ry of the 28th instant, the message of Governor Adams to the Senate and House of Representatives of South Carolina. It is mainly devoted to the local affairs of the State. Indeed, we have seen in it but one allusion to Federal politics. It is as follows: "The agitation in relation to Slavery con tinues to increase, and is rapidly tending to its bloody termination. Measures which it was hoped by some would give quiet to the country

lamity, but its scourges are to be endured in preference to degradation and ruin. The people of South Carolina are alive to the issue, and are mindful of their obligations. They are calm, because they are prepared and self-reliant. They have not forgotten their history, and they will not fail to vindicate its teachings.
The right 'to provide new guards for their future security' has been sealed by the blood

THE TEXAN FRONTIER.—We take the followng from the San Antonio Texan of the 15th:
"Another company of Rangers lately arrived n our city, from the frontier, under command of Capt. William Tobin. This company, and that under Capt. Tobin, are now discharged. They were mustered into service only temporarily, and at present there seems to be no security on our frontier. The plain truth of the matter is this: the execution of our Rangers in Mexico has had the effect of quieting the frontier. Twelve hundred Mexican troops are awaiting on the other side of the Rio Grande or another attack. They need have no fears. inless they again offer high prices to the Indians for horses and plunder taken from our

citizens on this side the river." OFFICIAL VOTE IN ALABAMA.—The official eturns of the vote east for Governor at the Au gust election were opened and counted by the wo Houses of the Legislature on the 24th ultimo. No returns were received from the counies of Marshal, Morgan, and Conecuh. Upon ounting the vote, it appeared that-John A. Winston received - - 42,238

George D. Shortbridge - - 30.639 Majority for Winston - - - 11,599

WISCONSIN ELECTION.—Returns have been eceived from all the counties in the State except two thinly-populated ones, and the vote for Governor, stated by the aggregation of ma-orities, may be given thus: For Bashford, Reublican, 8,966; for Barstow, Democrat, 8,097. This renders it pretty certain that Mr. Bashford is elected. Wisconsin Election.—The Milwaukie Sentinel has official majorities on the vote for Gov-

two to be heard from, Douglas and La Pointe, both on Lake Superior. The footings of these returns are for Mr. Bashford, Republican, Lime, Rockland 1.16 @ 0.00 8,830; Barstow, Democrat, 8,183. Bashford's majority 647. LEGISLATURE OF VIRGINIA.—This body asembled in Richmond yesterday, after a lapse of two years. In so large a State as Virginia

there must necessarily be a great accumula ment and banking will no doubt be promine some of the old banks, in which the State is a large stockholder, will soon expire.

Died in Macao, China, August 26th, 1855, Mrs. Abby H. Kerr, Wife of John G. Kerr, M. D., of the Presbyterian Mission in Canton, and daughter of Joseph Kingsbury, of Francestown, New Hampshire.

medy for Dyspepsia or Debility now before the Pub SETH W. FOWLE & CO., 138 Washington street Boston, Proprietors. Sold by their agents everywhere.

TO EDITORS.

A CURE FOR DYSPEPSIA.

ne next session of Congress, and wishes to write letter to one or two daily and as many weekly papers of Fred

WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY.

My DEAR Sir: Having experienced results of a satisactory character from the use of Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry, in cases of severe colds, during the pas wo years, I am induced to express the full faith I have i ts renovating power.

I was first induced to try this medicine as an experi ent, about two years since, in connection with the strong recommendation of a friend, who was well nig

one with consumption, and whose relief from the use of

cline, and most clearly demonstrating, to my mind, its great value as a restorative, that only needs a fair trial to grateful demonstration from the public. Your obedient servant, SAMUEL A. WALKER. To SETH W. FOWLE. If genuine, signed I. BUTTS.

addressed, and for sale by his agents.

This Association have established their Headquarters in the second story of the new building on D street, between Eighth and Ninth streets, one square north of Pennsylvania avenue. Our Republican friends visiting nia avenue. Our Republican friends visiting Character, not color, circumstances, or sex, is the basi of respect. Labor is regarded as eminently honorable room, where they will find files of the principal newspapers of the country.

CIRCULATE THE DOCUMENTS. HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD'S SPEECHES.

The Republican Association of Washington city have published in pamphlet form the speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William H. Seward at Albany and Buffalo, and, in order to give them as general a circulation as possible, have determined to send them at the following cheap rates:

Speeches at Albany and Buffalo, in one pamphlet, at \$2 per hundred copies.

Speech at Albany, in the German language, 2 per hundred copies.

The Association will also direct and mail them singly, free of postage, to such names as may be furnished, at the above rates; or they will send them in packages, at the expense of the person ordering, at the very low price of \$1.25 per hundred copies. Address

L. CLEPHANE, Secretary of the Republican Association, Washington, D. C.

The Slave Oligarchy and its Usurpations. THE OUTRAGES IN KANSAS. POSITION OF THE REPUPLICAN PARTY. SPEECH

HON. CHARLES SUMNER, The Evening of the 2d of November, 1855,

FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

Just published, in pamphlet form, by the Republican Association of Washington City. Price \$1.25 per hundred copies; or, enveloped, pers of the Court, except the venerable Chief franked, and addressed singly or in packages. at \$2 per hundred copies.

Orders solicited. Address L. CLEPHANE, Secretary of the Republican Association, Washington, D. C.

> MARKETS. BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, December 4, 1855. Flour, Howard Street - - \$9.25 @ 0.00

Flour, City Mills - - 9.00 @ 0.00 Rye Flour - - 7.12 @ 0.00 Corn Meal - - - - 4.25 @ 4.50 Wheat, white - - - 2.15 @ 2.18 Wheat, red - - - 2.08 @ 2.12 Corn, white - - - -Corn, yellow - - -1.20 @ 1.24 1.07 @ 1.10 Rye, Pennsylvania - -Rye, Virginia - - - . . . Oats, Maryland and Virginia -Oats, Pennsylvania - -42 8.00 @ 8.50 Timothy Seed . . Hay, Timothy - -22.00 (@25.00 18 @ 20 0.00 @ 0.00 Bacon, Shoulders -Bacon, Sides - -Bacon. Hams - . Pork, Mess - . . - 21.00 @22.00 Pork, Prime . . 20.00 @00.00 Lard, in harrels . Lard, in kegs - -Wool, Unwashed - . Wool, Pulled - - - -Wool, Fleece, common -Wool, Choice Merino Butter, Western, in kegs 16 Butter, Roll Cheese Coffee, Rio

Coffee, Java

113

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, December 4, 1855. Flour. State brands - - - \$9.37 @ 9.50 Flour, State brands, extra - 10.12 @11.50 Flour, Western - - - 9.62 @ 9.87 Corn Meal - - - - 4.37 @ 4.62 Wheat, white - - - 2.20 @ 2.25 Wheat, red - - - - 2.10 @ 2.16 Corn, white - - - - 1.02 @ 1.05 Corn, yellow 1.02 @ 1.05 Rye 1.20 @ 1.23 Oats - Clover Seed - - - - 11.00 @ 0.00 imothy Seed - - -• • • 4.25 @ 0.00 Bacon, Shoulders - . Bacon, Sides Bacon, Hams Pork, Mess - - -Pork, Prime . . Lard, in barrels . Butter, State : Wool, Unwashed -Wool, Washed - -Wool. Pulled . . Wool, Flagoe, common . 4210

Lime, common . A YOUNG LADY WISHES a situation as Governess, or as Teacher of the Primary Department of an Institution. For information, address Miss J. D. L., Baltimore, Md. 465 ANTI-SLAVERY MEN AND WOMEN!

THE NORTH-SIDE VIEW OF SLAVERY, The Canadian Refugees' own Narratives. BY BENJAMIN DREW.

II. AN INSIDE VIEW OF SLAVERY: A TOUR AMONG THE PLANTERS. BY DR. C. G. PARSONS.

rorks of fietion, or stories of the imagination, but truds of what these intelligent travellers saw with wn eyes, and heard with their own ears; and we enge the world to disprove the truth of their avert. The prew went to Canada, and travelled from to the truth of their avert. volume.

Men and Women of America! you may leave much, i you will, from these THIRTY THOUSAND CANADIAN SLAVES. They can take you behind the curtain, and tely you of the practical workings of the slave system—that beautiful, Christian, Democratic institution of America which finds so many depoists and dependent. They can tell you of the sufferings; joils, pulvations, and perisk which tell you of the sufferings; joils, pulvations and perisk which

The Inside View, by Dr. Parsons, a most graphic description of what he saw and hear the workings of the "patriarchal institution," during a vo years' sojourn among the planters of the extrem outh—those modern Abrahams, Isaacs, and Jacobs. Bu

Read and circulate these books! We want ONE THOU SAND AGENTS, to cauvass the entire North with these arguments for Freedom. Scatter them broadcast! JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., P.S. One dollar is the price of each book, for which they will be sent by mail to any address.

FREEMEN OF AMERICA!

satisfied me of its great value in cases of colds and de NOTICE, HAVING been appointed, by the Probate Court for the district of Chittenden, Vermont, agent for safe-keeping of certain moneys which came from the estate of As Hosford, purporting to be heired by one William Hosfort formerly of Litchfield, Connecticut, and removed to Ohiche is hereby notified of the same, if living—if not, to hiddren. The inheritance does not extend to grannchidren. For further information, address. Prepared and soid, wholesale and retail, only by SETH W. FOWLE, Boston, Mass., to whom all orders should be

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This Institution is now in a prosperous condition which the courses of study are elevated and profitable poor, black and white, male and female, with equal faci ities, stands opposed to the spirit of easte in all its phase and is furnished to students to as great an extent as possible. Those availing themselves of this privilege car

acquire an education with comparatively little exper This Institution is located at McGrawville, Cort On the afternoon of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday preceeding the commencement of each term, carringes will be at Cortland, to convey students to McGrawville. ree of charge. The winter term commences Thursday cember 13th, and continues thirteen weeks.

Inquiries concerning the character and advantages of the P. S. To accommodate those who wish their sons unde immediate care, President Calkins will take a num of students into his own house, and furnish them with

poard, room, lights, fuel, and tuition, for one hundred are PUTNAM'S MONTHLY.

DECEMBER Contents of No. XXXVI. The Armies of Europe. The Last Galley. How I Came to be Married. On my Bed of a Winter Night. Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha."

t Might Have Been. Low Life in the Sahara. Life among the Mormons-The Loss of the Argo. About Niggers.

A Visit to the Druzes. The Lost Lamb. The Green Lakes of Onondaga, (N. Y.) Thackeray, as a Poet. Hesperus. Living in the Country. Benito Cereno-concluded The Coming Session.

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A TALE OF SWEDISH DOMESTIC LIFE. BY EMILIE F. CARLEN, Author of "One Year of Wedlock;" "The Bride of Omburg, &c., &c.

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERCE. CHAP. XIV.

The Breakfast A Visit to Professor Ling's, When Mr. Garben arrived, at the time appointed, he was received by the family in the eating-room, where an excellent breakfast was served up. With a light heart he saw that no stranger was expected, and that all promised a speedy settlement of the desired object.

The entire breakfast itself had a busines like appearance—cold meats, and a kind of previously arranged hasty attendance, as if despatch was requisite.

"We will dispense with everything else, aid Madame Widen, smiling, "in the hope of fessor turned kindly round. "Have you come having all the better dinner," as she politely ressed her guest to let her help him again; but I could tell you, too, that my husband is no friend to slow measures, when business is in and. And so I wish to show our valued guest now readily Swedish wives seek to meet their husbands' wishes; and I am sure you will, on that account, excuse a somewhat burried break

"I find it excellent, I assure you," returned Mr. Garben, and his behaviour showed that he that thoroughly as I feel convinced of their spect, are no ways behind them; and as I shall soon be a married man myself, I feel all the more bound to defend my assertions."

At this unexpected novelty, the lady let an egg-shell fall upon her new cashmere dress;

"We have the honor to congratulate vou: and in the same breath tossed off a bumper of port wine, as if life and death depended upor swallowing it.

self to say, in her very sweetest tone-

that we shall have the pleasure of seeing Mr.

glass, with a graceful, pleasing air, said, with an expression of unaffected pleasure, as she slightly bowed-"Health and happiness to Mr. Garben's bride."

"I thank you, with all my heart," replied the Danish merchant, putting his glass to his lips. "My bride has the happiness of very much resembling Miss Widen; and for that reason I have felt so much at home, and so gratified in being allowed the pleasure of associating with one so like a very dear friend."

"I am very much obliged," said Rosa, with a smile. "I hardly believed Mr. Garben could have chosen so young a bride."

"Well, though I am already middle-aged already frequently spoken to Captain Ferdinand about it, and he has probably not given him-self the trouble to bring the matter to your at-tention. It therefore becomes my duty to do so; myself, yet I confess that I have a great liking for youth, especially in a bride. My Rika is not much more than nineteen years old."
"Is everything prepared?" inquired Mr.
Widen, impatiently, of his head book-keeper, whose whole energies were engrossed in get ting through his breakfast. All, patron."

The book-keeper spoke and ate with equal rapidity, for he saw the moment of cessation

"How soon may we expect the gentlemen back again?" asked Madame Widen, quite unedly, pushing back her chair. e o'clock, as usual, my dear," replied her husband, looking at his watch; how-ever, if Mr. Garben finds it quite convenient,

was on the point of getting up, he seemed to reel and tumble. Several violent quiverings. as if produced by sudden and severe inward istorted his features, and he seemed about to fall: his wife screamed out, in a heart

"Oh, Widen! my dear, for Heaven's sake, what is the matter with you?" The whole party now sprang up from the table at once; the two book-keepers ran to support their patron, who was rather dragged to the sofa than able to walk thither. Then

ne sank down, exhausted, with severe spasms | their former haunts. But that has past. We nd suppressed cries of agony. vely natural and affecting.

all her energy, "come here, and help; where is Larson, and Stinna, and Louise? We must get my poor husband to bed before the Doctor

With the greatest difficulty, Mr. Widen was onveyed to his apartment when he just arrived; Rosa and Mr. Garben, who stayed outside heard quite plainly that the threatened symptoms had by no means proved deceptive, there | manifestations, and brought the subtle, waywas a terrible clatter of crying and screaming: and as the Merchant now sunk, powerless and bed, and softly whispered in his ear-

My dear Widen, you are so pale, you really frighten me. Look up; I shall die with terror.' However, he did not look up, but remained lying upon the bed, pale and with closed eyes,

he sick man's bed. He declared that Mr Widen had a violent cold, and had probably eaten something indigestible the previous day unced the attack to be of no consequence; and Rosa heard every word.
"Thank God!" said the young girl, "the

Doctor gives good hope; and if Mr. Garben only remain until to-morrow, perhaps he for, as nothing can be done here | said to be the originators of this singular purdiate departure will at least have suit. The only ingredients thrown into the the effect of bringing me back all the sooner; cauldron were the coins charmed out of our

As the invalid was inclined to sleep, the octor and Madame Widen now came out of of affliction; "how little do we poor relation to the loud demand of a creditor, poor mortals know one minute what the next | which, they assured us, were the spirits anmay bring. I had calculated upon such an nouncing their readiness to respond to any reaagreeable evening, but now it is out of the sonable question, put in a proper, confiding We hope, however, to have the style. The process was interesting, b

velling carriage drew up before suppose my friend could not resist. In the way ourteously, the carriage rolled divines, who, falling, uttered an exclamation away down the street, and Madame Widen, more astounding to us than the first interrupdrawing a deep sigh, said-"God be blessed tion. The table was upset in the confusion. His stock was abundant, and his crops success. house, made again their home in the little cot many come here from Quebec and Montreal for

WASHINGTON. D. C. and praised he is off at last, my dear old When order was restored, the lady apologized ful. A silent, sombre man, with ways so pelage over the hill. Months passed, and autumn sea bathing, as they do from New York to the CINCINNATI RETREAT FOR THE INwith a kind of smile, between sweet and sour, "That was cursed hard to do, but it is done;

side, and tapped him upon the shoulder.

welcome."

"Good evening, dear uncle-how are you to

do the same girls usually do on such occa-

either, has he mentioned a single word to me,"

matters than those which were most pressing.'

the Professor, "and then you shall read the let-

ter yourself, which your father wrote me yester-

day morning. Look, there it is upon the table.

a match, lighted the wax candle, and, by its

in land, to his nephew, what he will see is abso-

you to look upon this as a demand; my good

prother's most obedient servant, "PETER WIDEN."

[Remainder of Chap. xiv next week.]

For the National Era

THE HAUNTED HOUSE.

O'er all there hung a shadow and a fear; A sense of mystery the spirit daunted, And said, as plain as whisper in the ear, The place is hunned?

A shrick that echoed from the joisted roof,

And up the stair, and further still and further ill in some ringing chamber far aloof,

It ceased its tale of murther!

Hood

nificance-when men of learning were super-

ghost is ignored; and when you bring your

This is eminently a practical age. No one

yet believe firmly in a spiritual existence, but

ward representatives to something like order.

We have given them respectable habitations

need not now seek the graveyard at midnight-

pockets: and, for the amount of one dollar

quested us to be seated, not around the canl-

dron, but a handsome centre-table, which being

turn came for a converse with the departed.

excited character was about right.

With no little tremor and anxiety, Rosa took

I will tell you the rest afterwards.

dim light, read the following lines:

"Highly respected friend and brother:

"Well, then, sit down, my dear," contin

Seeing that his wife was preparing to urge some objections, he said at once—
"Brigitta Marie, my old woman, do go into he next room, my love; for I must collect my

The day after, in the evening, Rosa wrapped During the vacation in the summer of herself in her cloak, and went to the Professor's found my husband prepared to quit the dusty, house, to execute the commission for Ferdimusty courts, for the country, just as my physician had prescribed daily exercise for me on The old gentleman, pipe in mouth, was seated in his arm-chair by the fire, and, as he puffed away, an occasional "hem, hem," escaped his orseback, as the proper restorative to health. ery well; the country was just the place for such exercise; but a difficulty met us at the outset. The prescription had been followed by the purchase of a beautiful white horse—the Rosa lightly tripped over the carpet to his most spirited, affectionate creature in the world. To leave *Coney* behind, cooped up in a dull city stable, while we were enjoying the country air, was not to be thought of. We first pro-"Eh, eh; is it you, dear child?" The Proposed having him brought by road, whilst we once more to look after me? After what has attled to our retreat on the rail. But a happy passed, I hardly expected that; but you are a hought struck me. Why not go ourselves on true-hearted girl, and now, as always, heartily aorseback? The proposition was at once accepted, and in a few days, equipped in accordance with comfort, and some little of the pic-"I do not understand you, uncle," said Rosa, in astonishment. "Why should I not come resque, we were gallantly pacing along the nighways and by-ways, in a manner that would have made glad the heart of James. He would "Oh! I only thought that since your father had written me that letter, yesterday morning, have begun immediately a three volume novel, which, together with my reply, he probably showed you, you might possibly feel obliged to rith "Two equestrians might have been seen And we were seen; for, riding into a little vil age that had been heated into silent sleepiness

ve suddenly came, as we turned into the yard of a hotel, upon Charles A—, Esq., who rubd his eyes, and looked as much astonished as replied Rosa. "Since yesterday morning, papa has been seriously ill, and I believe that he could not have occupied himself with any other Don Quixote had stalked in upon his vision. I wish I had the space to follow the windings that pleasant way, which led from the hot, usty city, to our country home. How we kept y the banks of the fair Miami, and saw it, now eping lake-wise, with a solitary crane stalkg like a shadow above its glassy surface, or orawling along shallows, or roaring over milllams; while all the while old trees leaned over, s if to see themselves reflected in the waves below; or how we found wayside inns toned down by leaves, where fresh milk, cool from the pring, with the whitest of bread, were given us "I have already, for some time, been purposing to put the friendly inquiry to my good brother, whether it is his intention either to food; while downy beds, where the whisperng foliage brushed against the window, or patering rain was heard upon the roof, red ettle a sum of ready money, or to make over, admit of such digressions, for this chapter is

lutely necessary, if an alliance with my daughter is to take place; for, though I trust to be must be written. able to give Rosa a fitting fortune, it will not We had left the unshaded town of Lebanonbe sufficient, by a great deal, for them to live Lebanon without its cedars-far to our right, upon, as the Captain has far more considerable and were seeking anxiously for some by-way, or debts than my good brother is aware of, and path even, that would lead us from the hot and path even, that would lead us from the hot and which must naturally be paid before thinking dusty pike, when a scene presented itself, so of anything else. I am very far from wishing peculiar, we had to pause for a better view. We were upon a gentle eminence, looking into brother will dispose as he thinks right of his a little valley, not unlike a thousand others to own property; only this much I wish to say, be encountered on our route, except in one parthat in case you should consider this propositicular, and that was its dreary silence. What gave it this air of desolation, was very apparent. To our right, on an elevation, stood a red

tion unreasonable, and do not feel inclined to consent thereto, I shall find myself under the necessity—much as I should have rejoiced to house, with windows closed, roof broken in, and have entered into a nearer connection with corn growing close upon the door-sill. With vou-to break off the engagement between the the exception of this melancholy evidence of Captain and my daughter; for my good brother desertion, not another trace of humanity was Captain and my daughter; for my good brother must clearly see, that it would be only a source of misfortune to the young people, allowing them to marry without any settled prospect of them to marry without any settled prospect of an income. I felt more inclined to apply my-self directly to you upon this subject, as I have

landscape a cheerless thing.
"It is very singular," said D., "that in this crowded land a house so well built should be

self the trouble to bring the matter to your attention. It therefore becomes my duty to do so; and I must also add, that the betrothal would never have been made public, or, rather, would never have taken place at all, had I for an instant doubted that my old friend would have with doubted that my old friend would have with doubted that my old friend would have with a doubted that my old friend would have with doubted that my old friend would have with a doubted that my old friend would have with doubted that my old friend would have with a doubted that m So we pondered, for no one was near to repleasure contributed his share towards setting and, threading the rows of rustling corn, were up the young people. Hoping for an early resoon within the porch of the old house. Its D.'s efforts, creaking on its hinges, and scraore. The room we entered was furnished-The corner cupboard, with one door fallen, displayed its usual contents of cups, plates, and fashioned clock stared in silence at us, its hand pointing mutely to the hour of one. In various places on the floor, damp stains showed where he rains of summer and the snows of winter as we gazed with mute wonder in the dim light, (for upon the broken windows the suncracked shutters were closed.) winds, with damp,

musty odors, wandered about us. We ascended the stairs rough originally, they seemed now to remonstrate at further use, as we mounted. The first room to our right ing; while the light came in at three narrow ndows, piercing a wall, which leaned outelusion, a hammock was swung from the raft- the quiet country church-vard. itself, and Madame Widen became more tran- at them, have their doubts, and hesitate net to of the furniture of this singular apartment. terior a huge vat jumped through a hole, and that greeted us. From this chest I took an not so strangely constructed, were in keeping vith this, exhibiting the same evidences udden desertion and subsequent decay.

"Some great evil," I exclaimed, "has fallen on this house. Perhaps the scene of a fearful

"More likely," answered D., "a fell disease, which has frightened the living from the even he daring to remain.

place, made me glad once more to find our-selves on the sunny pike. Riding over the next hill, we came, unexpectedly, upon a little habitation, giving undoubted evidences of a live Chickens cackled busily about sober head, and, approaching the fence, eyed or a solution of the mystery we had just left. It was about our luncheon time, and, asking for milk and bread for ourselves, and corn for our horses, we entered the cabin. An old voman received us kindly; and whilst we were

us readily the history of the deserted house. Some fifteen years before the time we had the good fortune to hear the strange tale, there not over forty-five years of age, inclined to exhibited strength and activity sufficient for a younger man. His hair was gray at that time, a pleasant companion. Indeed, he had none, save one he brought with him, a little girl, not more than five years of age, and, evidently hard, cold man, in appearance and manner, little Alice was soft, beautiful, and confiding. Earle was called Captain Earle. That he had ing the money in gold—new, bright, glittering gold. He pulled down the old cabin, and built nimself a handsome house, which he painted red, and in the building of which he assisted hoes, and harrows, paying as he went, in the same bright coinage he had given for his place. He was evidently no farmer, yet went about these preparations with a system and good had seen it toss up its arms towards the sky, sense that made amends for the lack of expe-

Years went prosperously by Captain Earle.

to the company for the interruption, and ex-The Merchant raised himself in his bed, and plained, by assuring us that she felt something comment among his gossipping neighbors, raised by assuring the himself of the company for the interruption, and ex-plained, by assuring us that she felt something comment among his gossipping neighbors, saving his little girl, he lived quite alone. The But our interview was at an end, for the spirits | female domestic left the house every evening "That was cursed hard to do, but it is done; and now we must think of other matters. It was fortunate that he mentioned his engagement; otherwise, with the hopes we cherished about Rosa, I should have gained nothing beyond fourteen days' grace; now, on the contrary, as all that is at an end, I must follow my first plans—that is all."

declined having anything more to do with the coarse straw hat and rude blouse. But the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice he sent to school, and regularly to church; but and, besides, have nothing whatever to do with the true ghost story I sat down to write. Suffice it to say, that we separated fully convinced him in contact with a neighbor, to the few words necessary, and no more. So cold, gloomy, first plans—that is all."

they could hear the sounds of the strange steps the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. The coarse straw hat and rude blouse. But there is a gentleness in their manners, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. The coarse straw hat and rude blouse. But there is a gentleness in their manners, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. The coarse straw hat and rude blouse. But the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the declined having anything more to do with the at sunset, for such was her engagement, while of several things. For my part, I believe in ghosts; I believe in the little Foxes; and I believe in all spiritual manifestations. With this confession of a creed, my readers can perceive mented upon, but various insinuations were with what genuine earnestness I proceed to tell them this true story of a ghostly kind. whispered about, purporting to account for his extraordinary conduct.

larly constructed room, and pore for hours over a book, the nature of which none knew, as he tion.

Standard when the sound in the soun carefully kept it under lock-or he would walk to and fro for hours within the limits of his little apartment. This last was a marked peculiarity. Every evening, after an early sup-per, he would retire; and it made no difference how laborious had been the day, this promenade would commence; and Alice, in the room below, would hear the measured tread of the wooden leg upon the floor, continuing until the occupant apparently retired to his ham-

This was a dreary life for the fair girl, and it is not strange she listened to the first offer proposing a change. This came from a foung farmer, son of a widow, who had bestowed more than ordinary care in the education of her only child. He was handsome, sensitive and sprightly, had been the companion of Alice at school, her attendant to church; and at last their intimacy came to a declaration of

love, to which Alice responded, and the matter was referred to her father. He listened in astonishment to the proposition, and indignantly refused. However, on seeing the daughter's tears, he took the affair under consideration, and ended by giving a reluctant consent. The consent was accompanied by the strange condition, that the young people should not live in the same house with himself; and so he built for them the little cottage in which we heard this strange recital. The house was finished and furnished, and the wedding took place. Few were present; and, after the ceremony, Alice and her husband left for their humble ome, and the old man was left alone.

Affairs continued for some time as before

nothing occurring to break the uniformity of this strange life, save, indeed, the death of

young Yardly's mother, until the occurrence of n event which not only changed the current, but broke up the life so long and strangely pursued. Yardly took the place of a laborer upor the farm, and worked with his father, precisely as the domestic had done before he became part of the family. Some months after the wedding, as the young man was returning, one evening, from his daily toil, he encountered upon the turnpike a tall, slender man, some self Thomas Earle lived in that neighborhood. He was answered in the affirmative, and, on expressing a desire to see Captain Earle, Yardly turned to accompany him. Together they as had encountered this stranger who had expressed a wish to see him, when Captain Earle's eyes fell upon the traveller. The sun had set, but daylight still held its own, so that the stranger stood full revealed before the man he sought.

away, motioned the stranger to enter. The young man left, wondering at what he f pushed out of place but a few moments pre- But the interview had its result. During that publish it sometime, for the sake of confound The habitually stern lineaments of his face had changed to almost a vacant and painful ex pression of grief and uncertainty. vore on, and, in the evening, the son an father separated as usual. That night, a feeling of some impending evil fell upon the house hold of the voung husband, but no other toke was given of its approach. The bright sun went down, bathed in glory—the stars gathered in their glad array; and sleep came at last, to seal up the senses, and shut out the unsub-

stantial phantoms of fear. The next morning, Thomas Earle was found dead. The death had not been peaceful, for startled us exceedingly. It seemed to have the rude hammock, the eyes were staring, the been built in imitation of a ship's cabin—the mouth open—indeed, every feature indicating a

They closed the eyes, and folded the hands over the heart, now at last stilled in death vardly, like the stern of a bark. To aid the and the once troubled form was borne away to

After the hurial, the young people thought it best to remove from their little cabin to the homestead. This was done, and the first even D. lifted the lid of the chest, and from the in- ing they proposed inhabiting the house camupon them. The gloom was gathering about the habitation, and Alice, in the arms of her old worn volume of manuscript, written in a | when, as the servant was about striking a light pretends to say that hard skepticism has seized hard, angular hand. The other rooms, though all three started in intense terror. They heard pacing, as was his wont in life, the room above Tramp, tramp, tramp, they heard distinctly girl fled, shrieking-Alice fainted, and when she returned to her consciousness, they were in the road where her husband had carried her, not The son and daughter would have concealed

this fearful event, tending, as it did, to cast suspicion on the family: but, from the lips of the domestic, it spread over the neighborhood. Dumen, and several religious ones, a preacher he door, a dog barked as we approached, while among the rest, proposed passing the night in put in communication with any of the departed, an old horse in the adjoining pasture lifted his the Haunted House. Young Yardly accepted It was determined that no light should be main as when formally occupied by its strang liscussing the humble but excellent fare, gave | sun shot its last golden arrows through the apwhile, deeply set under a square head, a cold dead man. Tramp, tramp, tramp—slow, heavy, surrounding population, they have few taxes to shut; the noise ceased for an instant, then it was renewed upon the stairway. The fearful some right to the title was evident, for so little the foot of the stairway flew open—they heard way of making the coast accessible; and w ed the lever; it swung to, and now over the tough little Canada pony, and dashed over the tread-for they saw nothing. The door leading to the porch opened; it passed out towards the French, and we heard nothing but the jabber orchard, and then all was silent. A cry of ter- ing of French in the streets. imself, showing great dexterity in the use of broke the spell, and the watchers fled-fled stopped at Rivere du Loup, and the doors and tools. He stocked his farm, planted an orchard, through the open door, tumbling one over the windows of the dwellings were open, while the laid out fields and meadow, purchased ploughs, other, and in a few seconds the Haunted House | women and children were chatting and playing was deserted. The man who had shrieked, de on the steps. The cottages are perched amid clared, solemnly, that, in the starlight, he had the rocks, and have a picturesque air, which is

came without the red house being disturbed by visiters of any kind. Persons passing at night along the turnpike, affirmed that they saw lights swarming with "lords and ladies gay," easily gleam from the windows, and others declared they could hear the sounds of the strange steps they could hear the sounds of the strange steps. his intention to solve the mystery, came into ness nor a single vociferous shout. the neighborhood.

A man fitter for such an enterprise could not dians spoken of with contempt, as a rude jar extraordinary conduct.

Times prospered with Thomas Earle, and little Alice, wandering about the gloomy house, like a stray sunbeam, grew, from slender girlike a stray sunbeam, grew, gre like a stray sunbeam, grew, from slender gurhood into a beautiful woman. This fact made no change in their mode of life. Of it, indeed, Captain Earle did not seem to be aware. He treated her still as a child. He seemed to be absorbed in the affairs of his farm; and, when not so engaged, would withdraw to his singular to make one of the party. The poor old man reluctantly consented. Alice insisted upon accompanying them, saying that now she knew the ill she was well prepared for its investigation.

The correctness of this we cannot assert, out a gentleman, who was educated in Paris, found no difficulty in conversing with them, and was inclined to think the language of the uneducated classes nearly the same in France and the Canadas. Very sure we are that it is but must be accompanying them, saying that now she knew the ill she was well prepared for its investigation. coarse and grizzly, that came out in spots—and and has the classical dignity of the olden time a slender, ungainly body, made him look as if The correctness of this we cannot assert, but a

> ingly, the evening of the day when the propolis upon every hill-top and in every valley, indi lately the scene of this dreadful mystery. The a continual contradiction. night did not come to them, as it had to others, soft and quietly. A storm was gathering at the southwest, so that, long before sunset, it was night in the room they occupied. They waited more than an hour, in the dead silence which we were not at all prepared for the realities which research the southwest of t sometimes precedes a tempest, when almost at the exact moment the dreaded noise began. As it did, the first heavy breathings of the storm, the first huge drops of rain, struck upon the house. As the walk went on, the storm grew loud; and, in the vivid flashes of lightning, the terrified Alice clinging to her husband, the frightened clergyman, with his hands clasped creased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they in prayer, saw the mesmeriser standing erect, stood alone, reminding us of nothing else whis arms stretched towards the door, and an had seen in nature. During the whole sevent expression almost ferocious on his pallid face. miles, there is not a rod of interval, but move in a momentary pause of the tempest, they rising directly from the water's edge, obliging

> The storm grew loud again—grew loud in a Where the wind sweeps across the bluffs, strange, fearful manner. It was not the ordi- they are bold, and the pines, which should be nary blasts of wind, and dashes of rain upon grand and waving forest trees, are naked stubbs the house and trees; but the wind was shrill, without a sign of verdure. Here and there and fairly whistled as it flew; while a sound, as upon a rock, or in a wild ravine, is seen a fishof creaking cordage and straining timbers, was erman's hut, or the temporary sheds of lumber almost drowned at times by sudden, heavy men; but all else is solemn, grand, and still. roars, as of mountain waves breaking on a vessel's bows. All this the listeners heard, or imagined they heard, while that step slowly denoting the step of life. The water is black, and so deep that agined they heard, while that step slowly denoting the step of the st ed-the ghostly visiter approached; when, sud- are but slight protection against the piercing denly, the mesmeriser exclaimed, in a shrill blasts. Trout are said to be abundant in the

your trouble!" seemed to burst in all its fury upon the devo-ted house. The doors flew open—the window panes rattled in pieces to the ground, or were carried singing upon the wind; and, in the ifty years of age, bearing a knapsack upon his shoulders, who asked him if one calling him
and despair no words may express. The cler
for Laughing Waters; and here, upon the more gyman could bear no more—covering his ears, he fied through the open door, away, along the church, a school-house, and a saw-mill—with its

Yardly and his fair wife left the country, with- calash, we drive through the principal street, out saying for where, nor have they ever been cross the crystal brook upon its pebbly bed heard from. The mesmeriser was found wan-dering about the fields, insane. The exposure merry maidens are bleaching, and stop at a little and excitement were too much for a heated brain, already somewhat unhinged. He was removed to an asylum, where he now is, some- lagers in this northern clime. There does not times raving about pirates, hidden treasures, seem to us to be a supply for a single family; and murdered wives; but generally images and we find nothing but a birchen basket of himself St. Paul, and preserves a dignified

As we rode away, I expressed my firm conviction that this Earle was a great pirate retired from business, and that in his orchard are assured that there is "plenty of every ting, thousand the found hidden treesures."

Learn that Truth is in all—is as omnipresent in human knowledge, as the Great God of Truth is in his creation. Thus would the student be trained to be a true Electic, and sale for the truth is made and the cleanty of the truth is in all—is as omnipresent in human thruth is made and the cleanty of the truth is in all—is as omnipresent in human thruth in the crops are considered.

in the shape of this beautiful farm, and the squatters upon it are decidedly interested in singular visiter to the adjoining town, where he took the stage, and was never heard of again. I know better than this, for I have it all written down in the book I carried away, and will

ing all unbelievers. said, found ourselves safely moored in the harbor of Quebec.

For the National Era REMINISCENCES OF SUMMER TRAVEL THE ST. LAWRENCE AND THE SAGUENAY.

We had been all night up the tempestuou St. Lawrence, when clear and bright the morning dawned, and found us sheltered beneath the gray walls of Quebec-the fortress-crowned and gate-bound city of the North. And though we had read a hundred descriptions, and seen picas new as if it had now for the first time entered our thoughts, and far more grand and imposing

To visit Montreal and Quebec, and go from village to village among Canadian peasantry, is next to a trip to Europe. The scenery, the border," among Americans, as if the wide the quiet ways and non-progressive habits of mandy peasants, and scarcely differ now in the other Powers to join in an arrangement their modes of life from their ancestors, centue which it may conceive to be virtually the same ries ago. We looked in amazement, too, during as was once proposed by our Government. the whole three hundred miles, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, to see how thick the little white cottages stood, having the appearance of one continuous village all along the shore. It seems to us a cold and sterile region, but the land must be very productive to support so many, though simple indeed must be the tastes of a people who live almost entirely upon what the soil furnishes.

waters are dotted with sails and busy steamers, engaged in the coasting trade; but here there agony of fear struck like chills through the as till. Though entirely French, and a conquered sembly, each one looking to the other for sup- people, they seem very loyal; and as they are left to enjoy in peace all the privileges they de-They heard a door above open and sire, they trouble themselves little about the operations of a Government which manifests no disposition to oppress,

Our little steamer stopped at Murray Bay and Rivière du Loup, or Wolf river, where ex-

It was a pleasant summer evening that we seen the outline of the late Captain's figure never seen in New England villages; and trees and trellices are scattered about, with a taste when a blindness of fear came upon him, and quite foreign to anything we see among English or American laborers. This place is so Yardly and his wife, removing from the near the Gulf, that quite a serf is visible, and

extraordinary affair, and, announcing publicly ing along the street, there is not an act of rude We have often heard the patois of the Cana

an English Province, ruled by Protestan The lecturer proposed they should repair to princes, and see ourselves surrounded by the house at the hour indicated, when the troubled spirit saw fit to manifest itself. Accordingly toms, while the cross with its crown of thorn sition was made, the four collected in the room cating that the Catholic religion is universal, is

And they heard the door open and shut again; tains of every form and size, bold and bleak, heard his step upon the stair, slowly descend-ing. you to look straight up, from fifteen hundre to ten thousand feet!

scended the stairs. On it came—the door open- | tense, that furs and all the woollens of January bays, and seals splash lazily upon the surface. "In the name of all things sacred, tell to me As the steamer upon which we are is only a pleasure boat, we move slowly along, pausing At this question, so boldly put, the storm at every spot of interest, where a silvery stream

road, to the first human habitation. sound of busy life. Here, too, are harvests What was made known in that fearful inter- waving in rich luxuriance. Again, with a view, has never been revealed. The next day, French courier, a Canada pony, and the light repository of "tobacco, sugar, tea, and rum," which professes to supply the wants of the vil domestic manufacture to treasure for a souvenir of this far-off and peculiar people.

Our driver can speak a little English, and we the river, where we see the little church first built in Canada, in 1608, the same year in which counter a fearful storm; but at length, as I

erce on this subject furnishes an explanation what Denmark means by the capitalization of the Sound dues. It appears that the annual average receipts of Sound dues on merchandise amount; Prussia twelve per cent., or \$3,600,000; about \$250,000. &c. The amount which would have to be paid by the United States is very nearly the same as was actually offered by this orth be permitted to pass into the Baltic free from toll; but the Court of Copenhagen replied to the effect stated in the present circular, that such an arrangement could not be carried probably intended to meet the wishes of the

THE VALUE OF POLITENESS .- Mr. Butler, of Providence, Rhode Island, a millionaire, who lied some six years ago, was so obliging that a little girl with a spool of thread which she wanted. The incident became known, (Mr. Butler was a young man at the time.) and the He subscribed the sum of forty prosperity. for the insane in Rhode Island, through the benevolent importunities of Miss Dix.

a thrilling instance of the necessity for women Sherrod was in flames on the Mississippi river, and the lady passengers who had thrown themboat, the wife of Captain Castleman jumped into the river, with her infant in her arms, and swam ashore, a distance of half a mile, being the only woman saved out of sixteen. She ha learned to swim when a girl.

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